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THE FIRST PART

OF THE

HISTORY

OF THE

WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE

TIMES FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM, TO THE TIME OF PHILIP OF MACEDON.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Of the time passing between the destruction of Jerusalem and the fall of the Assyrian empire.

SECT. I.

Of the connection of sacred and profane history.

THE course of time, which in profane histories might rather be discerned through the greatest part of his way, hitherto passed in some outworn footsteps than in any beaten path, having once in Greece by the Olympiads, and in the eastern countries by the account from Nabonassar, left surer marks, and more appliable to actions concurrent, than were the war of Troy, or any other token of former date, begins at length in the ruin of Jerusalem to discover the connection of antiquity forespent, with the story of succeeding ages. Manifest it is, that the original and progress of things could

ill be sought in those that were ignorant of the first creation; as likewise that the affairs of kingdoms and empire afterwards grown up, are not to be found among those that have now no state nor policy remaining of their own. Having therefore pursued the story of the world unto that age, from whence the memory of succeeding accidents is with little interruption of fabulous discourse derived unto us, I hold it now convenient briefly to shew by what means and circumstances the history of the Hebrews, which of all other is the most ancient, may be conjoined with the following times, wherein that image of sundry metals, discovered by God unto Nebuchadnezzar, did reign over the earth, when Israel was either none, or an unregarded nation.

Herein I do not hold it needful to insist upon those authorities which give, as it were by hearsay, a certain year of some old Assyrian king unto some action or event, whereof the time is found expressed in scripture; for together with the end of Ninus's line in Sardanapalus, if not before, all such computations were blotted out; the succession of Belochus, and his issue that occupied that kingdom afterwards, depending upon the uncertain relations of such as were neither constant in assigning the years of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to rely upon. Let it therefore suffice, that the consent and harmony, which some have found in the years of those overworn monarchs, doth preserve their names, which otherwise might have been forgotten. Now concerning the later kings of that nation, howsoever it be true that we find the names of all or most of them in scriptures which are recorded by profane historians, yet hereby could we only learn in what age each of them lived, but not in what year his reign began or ended, were it not that the reign of Nebuchadnezzar is more precisely applied to the times of Jehoiakim and Zedekias. Hence have we the first light whereby to discover the means of connecting the sacred and profane histories. For under Nebuchadnezzar was the beginning of the captivity of Juda, which ended when seventy years were expired; and these seventy years took end at the first of Cyrus, whose time,

being well known, affords us means of looking back into the ages past, and forwards into the race of men succeeding. The first year of Cyrus's reign in Persia, by general consent, is joined with the first year of the fifty-fifth Olympiad, where that he reigned twenty-three years before his monarchy, and seven years afterwards, it is apparent, and almost out of controversy. Giving therefore four hundred and eight years unto the distance between the fall of Troy and the instauration of the Olympiads by Iphitus, we may easily arrive unto those antiquities of Greece which were not merely fabulous. As for princes ruling the whilst in sundry parts of the world, St. Augustine and others may be trusted in setting down their times, which they had by tradition from authors of well-approved faith and industry.

From Cyrus forwards, how the times are reckoned unto Alexander, and from him to the battle of Actium, it were (peradventure) in this place impertinent to set down. But seeing that the beginning and end of the Babylonian captivity are the marks whereby we are chiefly directed, in passing from the first unto the latest years of the world, through any story, with least interruption, it is very expedient that we take some pains to inform ourselves truly of the seventy years, during which it continued, even from Nebuchadnezzar unto Cyrus.

SECT. II.

A brief rehearsal of two opinions, touching the beginning of the captivity, with an answer to the cavils of Porphyry, inveighing against St. Matthew and Daniel, upon whom the later of these opinions is founded.

MANY commentators and other historians and chronologers find, that the captivity then began when Jechonias was carried prisoner into Babylon, eleven years before the final destruction of Jerusalem under Zedekias. This they prove out of divers places in [a] Ezekiel, especially out of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plain distinction between the beginning of the captivity and utter destruction of Jerusalem by Nabuzaradan in these words: *In the five*

[a] Ezek. i. 2. and iii. 11, 15.

and twentieth year of our being in captivity in the beginning of the year, in the tenth day of the month, in the fourteenth year after that the city was smitten. In which words he beginneth the captivity in plain terms eleven years before the city was destroyed. Beroaldus is of opinion that it began in the first of Nabuchodonosor, and the fourth of Joakim, which he endeavours to prove out of the second of Chronicles, but more especially out of St. Matthew and Daniel, whose words afford matter of long disputation, but serve not to make good so much as Beroaldus would enforce. That place of St. Matthew, and the whole book of Daniel, have ministered occasion of scoffing and railing at the Christian religion to that wretched man Porphyry, who, not understanding how the sons of king Josias were called by divers names, as Epiphanius hath shewed at large, thought that the apostle had spoken he knew not what in reckoning the sons, or, according to some translations, the son and nephews of that good king, begotten about the time of the captivity. Upon Daniel also the same Porphyry doth spend the twelfth of his malicious books written against the Christians, affirming that these prophecies and visions remembered by Daniel were written long after his death, and at or near the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. This fond supposition of his, Eusebius, Apollonius, and others have sufficiently answered. For the seventy interpreters, who converted the Old Testament about an hundred year before Epiphanes, did also turn this book of Daniel out of Hebrew into Greek, as a part of scripture received. And were there no other argument to confound Porphyry than that of [b] Alexander Macedon, it were sufficient, who lived divers years before Antiochus Epiphanes. For Jaddus the high priest shewed that great conqueror, when he came towards [c] Jerusalem to have destroyed it, this book of Daniel, wherein he beheld his own glory foretold, as the same was plainly expounded unto him, which not only stayed his hand from the harm of that city and people, but his assurance and resolution was so confirmed and strengthened thereby,

[b] 1 Mac. xi. [c] Jos. Ant. 11.

as, despising all future peril and resistance, he conquered Darius and the eastern empire in a shorter time than Nabuchodonosor had done one city, to wit, Tyre in Phœnicia.

It is true indeed that the Jews themselves give less authority to Daniel than to Moses and the prophets, accounting his book among those which they call *Cetaphim*, or *Hagiographa*, or holy writings, which they say Esdras and the seniors of the synagogue compiled after their return from Babylon. But first, that the book of Daniel (I mean so much as is found in the Hebrew) is canonical, secondly, that it was written by Daniel himself, and not by Esdras and the seniors, we may assure ourselves by testimony of councils and fathers. For in the council of Laodicea, held about the year of our Lord 368, after the death of Jovinian the emperor, and after the Nicene council forty-three years, this book of Daniel was received, verified, and confirmed among the other canonical scriptures, as in the epitome of the same council it may be seen; and so doth Meliton, the most ancient bishop of Sardis, number it, witness Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, the fourth book and twenty-fifth chapter; so doth the same author in the catalogue of canonical books upon Origen; so doth Hilarius in his preface upon the Psalms, and Epiphanius in his book of Weights and Measures, &c. To these I may add St. Jerome, Gregory Nazianzene, and others. For the Hagiographæ books, or holy writings, the Jews and Rabbins reckon to be these: Daniel, Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Hester, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Chronicles. And that it was Daniel, and not Esdras, that wrote this book, God's commandment unto him by his angel, to seal up the same to the time appointed, is an unanswerable testimony; yea, that which exceedeth all strength of other proof, our Saviour Christ, who citeth no apocryphal scripture, in Matth. xxiv. 15. and Mark xiii. 14. allegeth Daniel the prophet, to wit, the last verse of his nineteenth chapter. Further, in John v. Christ distributeth the risen from the dead, as in Daniel xii. 2. St. Paul describeth Antichrist

out of Daniel, and the Revelation is wholly an interpretation of Daniel's visions.

SECT. III.

That the seventy years of captivity are to be numbered from the destruction of Jerusalem, not from the migration of Jechonia.

HAVING thus far digressed in maintaining that authority which must often be cited in the present argument, it is now convenient that we return unto the differences of opinion concerning the beginning of these seventy years. Neither will I stand to trouble myself and others with laying open the grounds or weakness of that which Eusebius and some few nameless authors have sometimes held in this point, which is lately revived by Beroaldus; but will forthwith enter into consideration of that opinion, which many both ancient and late writers have so earnestly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Four kings of Juda were carried away captives to Babylon; first, Manasses; then Jehoiakim, and with him, among others, Daniel the prophet; thirdly, Jechonias, and with him Ezekiel; lastly, Zedekias, at which time the city and temple were destroyed. To the first of these captivities the beginning of the seventy years is referred by none that I have read; to the second by few, and with weak proof; to the third by very many, and with much confidence. For besides those places of Ezekiel already cited, there is a strong argument gathered out of Jeremy xxix. 10. which may seem to make the matter plain; for the prophet, in comforting the people that were carried away with Jechonias, used these words: *Thus saith the Lord, After seventy years be accomplished at Babel, I will visit you, and perform my good promise towards you, and cause you to return to this place.*

But it stands indeed with little reason that we should seek the interpretation of a prophecy out of circumstances, when the prophecy is such as doth sufficiently expound itself. Jeremiah had already, in the fourth year of Jehoi-

akim denounced the judgment of God against the land, for the sins and impenitency of that obstinate people, in these words: [d] *Behold, I will send and take to me all the families of the north, saith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babel, my servant, and will bring them against this land, and against the inhabitants thereof, and against all these nations round about, and I will destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing, and a continual desolation. Moreover, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride, the noise of the millstones, and the light of the candle, and this whole land shall be desolate, and an astonishment; and these nations shall serve the king of Babel seventy years. And when seventy years are expired, I will visit the king of Babel.* Here we see prescribed unto the captivity the term of seventy years, which were to commence, neither when the prophecy was uttered, nor when Jehoiakim, who then reigned, was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, nor yet in the time of Jechonia, but with the utter desolation of the city, whereof Jeremiah did again give notice to those that were already in Babylon, at such time as he sent them the comfort of deliverance before rehearsed. And so did the people understand this prophecy in those times when they saw it accomplished, beginning the seventy years at the time of the desolation, as manifestly appears in the end of the history of Juda, where it is said thus: [e] *They burnt the house of God, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious vessels thereof, to destroy all. And they that were left by the sword carried he away to Babel; and they were servants to him and to his sons until the kingdom of the Persians had rule to fulfil the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had her fill of her sabbaths: for all the days that she lay desolate she kept sabbath, to fulfil seventy years. But in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, (when the word of the Lord spoken by the mouth of Jeremiah was finished,) the Lord*

[d] Jer. xxix. 16, 17, 18. [e] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 19, &c.

stirred up the spirit of Cyrus. We seldom find one piece of scripture so precisely and plainly expounded by another, as in this prophecy, to have afterwards been the subject of altercation. For one can hardly devise, how either the desolation could have been expressed more sensibly than it was by the prophet, or the event of the prophecy have been more exactly set down than it was in the place now last of all cited. If it be requisite that we bring more proof in so evident a case, the ninth chapter of Daniel yields testimony sufficient unto this exposition of Jeremiah's prophecy, that Jerusalem was to lie waste seventy years. For in the first year of Darius the Mede, which was the last of the seventy, Daniel obtained of God the deliverance that had been promised by prayer, which he made upon consideration of the time that was expired, as he telleth us in these words: [f] *In the first year of his reign I Daniel understood by books the number of the years, whereof the Lord hath spoken unto Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolation of Jerusalem.* So that howsoever the time of Daniel's own captivity be reckoned from the taking of Jehoiakim, and that the people carried away with Jechonia, did account, as well they might, the years of their own captivity; yet with the general desolation of the country wherein were few or none of the Israelites left remaining to inhabit, began in the nineteenth year of Nabuchodonosor the great captivity, which by God's appointment continued unto the end of seventy years. This I will not further seek to prove by the authority of Josephus and others affirming the same; forasmuch as that which already hath been produced is enough to satisfy any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrary.

SECT. IV.

Sundry opinions of the kings which reigned in Babylon during the seventy years.

WHAT kings reigned in Babylon during these seventy years of the captivity, and how long each of them did wear

[f] Daniel ix. 2.

the diadem, it is a matter of no great importance to know, forasmuch as neither their acts were notable in the age wherein they lived, nor the length of their reigns any way helpful to the concordance of times foregoing or succeeding. The conquests recounted by [g] Xenophon, of Syria, Arabia, (or rather some part of it,) Hyrcania, Bactria, and perhaps of some other countries, may seem fruits of the victories obtained by Nebuchadnezzar the great (or by some of his ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betook himself to ease, and to the sumptuous building of his great Babel, for the house of his kingdom, and for the honour of his majesty, where it may seem that he and his heirs kept a great state, and did very little. The idle behaviour of the Assyrian soldiers, in such skirmishes as afterwards they had with the Medes, doth argue no less. For whereas under Nebuchadnezzar they were so stout and industrious, that (to omit other proofs) they attempted and finished that hardy piece of work of winning the strong city of Tyre by joining it unto the continent, filling up the deep and broad channel of the sea, dividing it from the main with a mole or pier of earth, and other matter, the reparation whereof, when the sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of Alexander's works; in the times following they became timorous, that they durst not approach nearer to the enemy than their bows would carry, but were ready to turn their backs as soon as any, though inferior in numbers, adventuring within the distance offered to charge them.

Now as their actions, from the end of [h] Nebuchadnezzar's wars till the ruin of their empire, were not worthy to be recorded; so was the distinction of their times, and reign of their several kings, unworthy of the great labour that hath in vain been taken in that business. For when it is granted that the captivity of Juda, ending with that empire, lasted seventy years, we may as reasonably forbear to search into the particular continuance of two or three slothful kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of

[g] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. [h] Xenoph. Cyropæd. 1. et l. 3.

the patriarchs and their children, living in the Egyptian servitude; resting satisfied in both with the general assured sum.

Yet forasmuch as many have travailed in this business, upon desire (as I take it) to approve the beginning and end of the seventy years, not only by the reigns of other princes ruling elsewhere, but by the times of the Assyrians themselves; I will not refuse to take a little pains in collecting their opinions, and shewing what I think may best be held for likely, if the certain truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the kings themselves, and in setting down the years of their several reigns. The first (as I take it, the surest) is theirs, who merely follow the authority of the scriptures, without borrowing any help from others. These name only three kings, Nebuchadnezzar, Evilmerodach, and Balthasar. Neither have they only the silence of Daniel, who names none other, to be their warrant, but the prophecy of Jeremy precisely, and in a manner purposely teaching the very same. For God, by the mouth of that prophet, shewing that he being absolute lord of all would dispose of all, according to his own will, and making it known that he had put some countries here named into the hands of the king of Babel, saith thus: [1] *And all nations shall serve him, and his son, and his son's son, until the very time of his land come also: then many nations and great kings shall serve themselves of him.* These words expressing the continuance of the Chaldean empire, and number of the kings, will hardly be qualified with any distinction. But indeed I find no other necessity of qualification to be used herein, than such as may grow out of men's desire to reconcile the scriptures unto profane authors. And this desire were not unjust, if the consent of all histories were on the one side, and the letter of the holy text were single on the other side.

But contrariwise, the authors which are cited in this case are so repugnant one to the other, and the proofs of their different reports are so slender and unsufficient, that the

[1] Jer. xxvii. 7.

succession of these princes, had it not been thus delivered in scriptures, but only set down by some author of equal credit with the rest, might very well have found and deserved as good belief as any of those things which they have delivered in this point. For some there are, who, following [k] Josephus, derive that empire, as by descent from father to son, through five generations, beginning with Nabuchodonosor the great, and giving to him forty-three years; to Evilmerodach, eighteen; to Niglisar the son of Evilmerodach, forty; to Laborosoardach the son of Niglisar, nine months; and lastly, to Balthasar (whom Josephus intimates to be of the race of Nabuchodonosor, without naming his father) seventeen years. And this opinion (save that he forbears to reckon the years, and plainly calls Balthasar the son of Laborosoardach) St. Jerome doth follow, alleging Berosus, and Josephus as a sectator of Berosus, for his authors; though Berosus, as he is cited by [l] Josephus, report the matter far otherwise. For he tells us, that Evilmerodach the son of Nabuchodonosor did reign but two years, being, for his wickedness and lust, slain by his sister's husband Niriglissoroor, who occupied the kingdom after him four years, and left it to his own son Laborosoardach, who being an ill-conditioned boy, was at the end of nine months slain by such as were about him, and the kingdom given to one Nabonidus, who held it by the election of the conspirators, and left it unto Cyrus after seventeen years. This relation ill agrees with that of Josephus, and both of them as bad with the scriptures, in number either of years or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle have procured unto them some authority, so that the names which they have inserted are taken as it were upon trust. There is a third opinion, which makes the three last kings brethren, and sons of Evilmerodach; and this may well enough agree with the scripture; though I had rather believe [m] Xenophon, who saith that the last king of Babylon was immediate successor to his father. But whereas the author of the scholastical history, who is founder of this opinion, placeth

[k] Jos. Ant. l. 10. c. 12. [l] Jos. contr. Appion, l. 1. [m] Xenoph. Cyr. l. 4.

between him that took Jerusalem and Evilmerodach another Nabuchodonosor; plain it is, that he hath, out of any history, sacred or profane, as little warrant to guide him as we have reason to follow him. Eusebius, Sulpitius Severus, and Theodoret, upon better ground, have supposed that Evilmerodach and Balthasar were brethren, and sons of the great Nabuchodonosor. This is built on the fifth chapter of Daniel, wherein Balthasar (for of Evilmerodach there is none that ever doubted) is often called Nabuchodonosor's son. And so common grew this explication, that St. Jerome called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of Jeremiah before cited proves that Balthasar was not the son indeed, but the grandchild of that great conqueror, though by the phrase very common in scriptures, and familiar in those eastern languages, he was called the son.

Annius's Metasthenes hits very rightly the seventy years of captivity, giving to Nabuchodonosor forty-five years, to Evilmerodach thirty years, and to the three sons of Evilmerodach, nephews of Nabuchodonosor, fourteen years; that is, to Reg-Asser, the eldest son, three years; to Lab-Asser Datch, the second son, six years; and to Balthasar, the third son, five.

To this account, agreeing with the scriptures both in the whole sum of years and in the number of generations, I have sometime subscribed, as not daring to reject an appearance of truth upon no greater reason than because the author was of Annius's edition. Yet could I not satisfy myself herein; both for that none of the ancient, and few such of the modern writers as deserve to be regarded, have consented with this Metasthenes; and for that in making Balthasar to succeed unto his brother in the kingdom, and not unto his father, he is wholly against Xenophon, whose history of the elder Cyrus in his Assyrian war I cannot slightly value in many respects, and especially because it is very agreeable to the scriptures in the taking of Babylon while the king was at his drunken feast.

Seeking therefore diligently into all circumstances that might give any light in this obscurity, I found manifest

proof, that the time allotted unto [n] Balthasar by Annius's Metasthenes was far short of the truth, which is enough to render all suspected that he hath said in distributing what part of the seventy years he pleased among the rest. For in the third year of Balthasar Daniel saw a vision, after which he was sick certain days, but when he rose up, he did the king's business: from which business that he did afterwards withdraw himself, and lived retired so long, that he was forgotten in the court, it appears plainly, both by the many words which the old queen used to set out his sufficiency, and by the king's asking of him, when he came into his presence, whether he were [o] Daniel. Now to think that a man of such account and place as [p] Daniel had held could in two years have been worn out of remembrance, were in my judgment a very strange conceit, which rather than I would entertain, I can well be contented to think the whole story (thus related) a part of Annius's impostures.

Out of these reports of Josephus, Berosus, and others, many new opinions are framed, by conjectures of late writers. For the endurance of the captivity being seventy years, and these years extending unto the first of Cyrus, in which course of time Nebuchadnezzar, his son, and grandchild, must have reigned; it hath seemed needful to supply the years of these three descents, by inserting some whose reigns might fill up the whole continuance of the captivity, with which the time allotted by Berosus and others to Evilmerodach and Balthasar, joined unto the years following the nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar, (wherein Jerusalem was laid desolate,) are nothing even.

Therefore Mercator, and others following him, fashion the years of Evilmerodach in this sort: they say, that the eighteen years given to him by Josephus in the tenth of his Antiquities should be read and numbered twenty-eight years, and the two years that Berosus hath allowed to Evilmerodach should be written twenty-three: in the first number the figure of 1 is mistaken for the figure of 2; and in the latter there should have been added the figure of

[n] Dan. viii. 1. and 27. [o] Dan. v. 11, 12, 13. [p] Dan. ii. 49.

3 to that of 2. This granted, to wit, that Evilmerodach reigned twenty-eight years, whereof five together with his father, and twenty-three after his death, and the same number of twenty-three added to the twenty-five, which Nabuchodonosor lived after the destruction of Jerusalem, make forty-nine; then four years of Niglisar, according to Berosus, nine months of Labassardach his son, and seventeen years of Labonidus, or Balthasar, make up the number of seventy years to the first of Cyrus. But whether by error in figures or in words, the numbers be utterly mistaken in all copies extant; upon how weak a foundation do they build, who have nothing to help them, save only the bare names of two unknown kings, found in authors manifestly corrupted, and such as, if they had been entirely extant, were not worthy to have that place of Jeremy called into dispute, in regard of their authority.

SECT. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, persons, and reigns of the Babylonian kings.

OTHER suppositions, little different in substance from this of Mercator, I purposely forbear to rehearse, as falling under the same answer. That of Joseph Scaliger I may not forget, as deserving to be considered apart from the rest. He gives to Nebuchadnezzar forty-four years, to Evilmerodach two, to Balthasar five, and to Nabonidus seventeen. So that from the nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar, in which Jerusalem was destroyed, unto the time of Cyrus, he accounteth only fifty-nine years; beginning (as many do) the captivity eleven years sooner, from the transportation of Jechonia. But hereof enough hath been said already. That which we are now to consider is his distribution of the time running between the nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar and the fall of the Chaldean empire; wherein if he have erred, then is all further inquisition frivolous.

Concerning the length of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, I shall hereafter upon better occasion deliver my opinion. The time which he gives to Evilmerodach is very short, and

more precisely agreeing with Berosus than with the scriptures. For we find in Jeremy that this Evilmerodach in the first of his reign, shewing all favour to Jechonia, did among other things take order for him at his table; and that he did continually eat bread before him all the days of his life. His portion was a continual portion given him of the king of [q] Babel, every day a certain, all the days of his life, until he died. The very sound of these words (which is more to be esteemed than the authority of Berosus, were he perfectly extant) imports a far longer time than two years, wherein Jechonia, under this gentle prince, enjoyed the comfort sent by God, whose commandment he had obeyed in yielding himself to Nebuchadnezzar. Indeed how long Jechonia did live, it cannot be proved; but plain it is hereby, that all his remaining days he did eat bread before this king. Now that he lived not so short a while after this as two years, it is more than likely, for he was but fifty-five years old when he was set at liberty, having been thirty-seven years in the prison, whereinto he was cast at the age of eighteen years; after which time it seems plain that he begat Salathiel, as well by the age of Zorobabel, who is said to have been but a young man, and one of Darius's pages threescore years after this, as by other circumstances of his imprisonment itself.

Of Balthasar, to whom Scaliger gives the next five years, naming him also Laborosoardach, I should wonder why he calls him Nebuchadnezzar's daughter's son, were it not that herein I find him very careful to help out Berosus, by shifting in his Niriglissoroor, as husband to Nebuchadnezzar's daughter, and protector of his son four of these years; by which means there remains about one year to Balthasar alone, agreeing nearly with the nine months assigned by Berosus to the son of Niglisar. But Jeremy hath told us that it was to Nebuchadnezzar, and to his son, and to his son's son, (not to his daughter's son,) that the empire was promised: which difficulty if Scaliger could not help, it was well done of him to pass it over with silence.

[q] Jer. lii. 33, 34.

Nabonidus, the last of these, whom others (desirous to reconcile Berosus to the scriptures) have judged to be all one with Balthasar, is by Scaliger thought to be Darius of the Medes. But herein Scaliger is no firm Berosian; for Berosus makes him of the same stock or race, a Babylonian. I speak not this to disgrace the travail of that most learned man, (for it highly commends his diligence and judgment, that he was not so wedded to any author as affected with the love of truth,) but to shew that he himself having in some points disliked those writers whom in general he approveth, might with greater reason have wholly reformed them by the scriptures, wherein can be no error. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirm this opinion in Scaliger, that he whom Berosus calls Nabonidus was the same whom Daniel had called Darius of the Medes: first, the phrase of scripture, which signifies unto us, that Darius took the kingdom, not saying that he won it by force of arms; secondly, a fragment of Megasthenes found in Eusebius, wherein this Nabonidus is called the Median. Touching the word of the original, or of the Greek translation, which expressing no force of arms doth only signify that Darius took or received the kingdom, I see no reason why we should thereupon infer that the next king entered by election; seeing Daniel relateth not the means and circumstances of Balthasar's death, but only the swift accomplishment of his own prophecy. Neither could it indeed have properly been said, (if Daniel had cared to use the most expressive terms,) that Darius of the Medes breaking into the city, did win the kingdom; seeing this was performed by Cyrus in the absence of Darius, though by his forces, and to his use. Now concerning the fragment of Megasthenes, true it is, that in Eusebius's works, printed at Basil in the year 1559, I find only thus much of Megasthenes cited out of Alpheus: that Nabuchodonosor was more valiant than Hercules; that he subdued all Libya, and the rest of Asia as far as to the Armenians; and that, as the Chaldeans report, being returned into his kingdom, and rapt with a divine fury, he cried with a loud voice,

" O Babylonians, I foretell ye of a great calamity that shall " come upon you, which neither Bel nor any of the gods " shall avert: there will come a Persian, half an ass, that " shall bring slavery upon ye:" and that this and the like when he had spoken, he vanished. Of all this I believe little or nothing, saving that Nabuchodonosor knew beforehand that his empire should be translated, as Daniel had foretold, from the golden head to the silver breast. But that he won all Africa, or Libya, I hold it neither true nor probable.

If Scaliger's copy of Eusebius were the more perfect, out of which Megasthenes tells us that Nabuchodonosor won both Africa and Spain, I believe the fragment so much the less; and am as little moved with the authority of it, where it calls a Median the pride and confidence of the Assyrians, as where it tells of Nebuchadnezzar's own vanishing away. Indeed that same title of half an ass, by which he calleth Cyrus, makes me to suspect the fable as cunningly forged out of Apollo's oracle, wherein he termeth him a *mule*, because his parentage was more noble on the mother's side than on the father's; as mules are begotten by asses upon mares. And thus much in answer of the two principal foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnity and coherence which it hath within itself, I easily allow it. But this proves nothing, for mere fictions have not wanted these commendations: neither can any man believe that one so judicious, industrious, and deeply learned as Joseph Scaliger, would overshoot himself in setting down repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the scriptures, from which there is no appeal. And herein it seems that Scaliger, well knowing his own sufficiency, hath been little careful to satisfy men that would frame arguments against him. For if the prophecy of Daniel were true, that the kingdom of Balthasar was divided, and given to the Medes and Persians, either we must think that Darius of the Medes was not Nabonidus, or else we must bethink ourselves what Persian it might be that shared the

kingdom with him. For it is not more certain that Balthasar lost his life and kingdom, than that his kingdom was divided and given to the Medes and Persians. Neither did the Medes and Persians fall out and fight for it, as by supposing Nabonidus to have been Darius, they should be thought to have done; but these two nations did compound the body of that empire, and were accounted as lords over all the subject provinces, insomuch that the Greek historians did commonly call those wars which Darius, and after him Xerxes, made upon Greece, the wars of the Medes. Yea, to clear this point, even [r] Daniel himself resembles that king, with whom Alexander fought, unto a ram with two horns, calling him the king of the Medes and Persians. Wherefore the whole nation of chronologers were not to have been condemned by Joseph Scaliger, for maintaining upon such good grounds that Darius of the Medes was partner with Cyrus in his victories, and not a Chaldean king by him subdued. Neither was Josephus to be the less regarded for affirming that Balthasar was destroyed by Darius of the Medes and his nephew Cyrus, though herein he varied from Berosus and others, whose authority elsewhere he gladly citeth. For Josephus had no reason to believe any man's faith or knowledge of those times half so well as Daniel's, whom I believe that he understood as far as was needful in this case. Lawful it was for him to allege all authors that had any mention, though unperfect, of the same things that were contained in the writings of the Jews, to whose histories thereby he procured reputation in the Roman world, where they were strangers, and might seem fabulous. Even so do Eusebius and other Christian writers willingly embrace the testimonies of heathen books making for the truth in some particulars; yet will they not therefore be tried in general by the self-same ethnick philosophers, but leave them where they are against the truth, as Josephus in this case hath left Berosus. And thus much I thought it meet to say of Scaliger's opinion in this point; holding nevertheless in due regard his learning and judg-

[r] Daniel viii. 20

ment, which if in some things it had not failed, the miracle had been very great.

SECT. VI.

What may be held as probable of the persons and times of Nabuchodonosor's successors.

IT now remains that I freely acknowledge mine own weakness, who cannot find how the seventy years of captivity are to be divided among them which reigned in Babylon, though I find that the distribution made of them, in such wise as already is rehearsed, be ill agreeable to the holy scriptures. Wherefore I may truly say with Pererius, that we ought liberally to pardon those whose feet have failed them in the slippery ways of chronology, wherein both learning and diligence are subject to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulness, or heedless reckoning. Yet will I adventure to deliver my opinion, wherein the judgment of Lyra and others (holding those only to have reigned over Chaldeans whose names are found in the scriptures) appears more conformable to reason and account of time, than any of the other sentences or conjectures before rehearsed. Not that I will take upon me to defend Lyra's conjectures, when he supposeth by Niglisar and Labosardach to be meant the same persons which are called in scripture Evilmerodach and Balthasar, (for this can by no good colour be maintained,) but only to shew that the kings by him cited are likely to have occupied the whole time of seventy years. First therefore let us consider the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, in whose eighteenth year Jerusalem was taken and sacked, but in his nineteenth laid utterly desolate.

Most writers have given to him forty-three years of reign, following therein Berosus. There are who have added one year more; and some have made it up forty-five. To dispute about the certainty were needless: for in shewing by what length of time the scriptures measure him, we shall shew the certain truth.

Manifest it is, that the nineteenth year of [s] Nebuchad-

[s] 2 Kings ii. 5. 8. Jer. li. 12. 2 Kings xxiv. 12.

nezzar is joined with the eleventh of Zedekias; as also that his eighth year was the first year of Jechonia's captivity; the reign of Zedekias occupied all the mean space, being of eleven years. This is generally agreed upon, so that it needs no further proofs: as for the beginning of his successor [t] Evilmerodach, it was in the thirty-seventh year of Jechonia's captivity; so that Nebuchadnezzar, after his eighth year, (which was the first of Jechonia's bondage,) reigned thirty-five whole years, and peradventure a good part of the thirty-sixth, forasmuch as Jechonia was enlarged with so great favour, not until the end of the year. Subtracting therefore out of these forty-four, which Nebuchadnezzar's reign did well near occupy, those eighteen years of his which passed away before the captivity of Juda, and ruin of the city, we have remaining twenty-six years of the seventy, that were almost wholly spent when his son began to reign.

It is now to be considered how the remainder of the seventy years were divided between the kings ruling in Babylon until the first of Cyrus. A question more difficult (as I said before) than greatly needful: the whole sum being certain, and the distinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions who were slothful princes. Neither can any man the more justly suspect the beginning or end of the whole seventy years, for that the distribution of some part of them is only conjectural; seeing that none who gives any other terms to their beginning or end, hath refused to follow both unlikely and desperate conjectures in dividing them. I will therefore be bold to do as others have done; knowing well beforehand, that whosoever shall discover my error must do me the pleasure (which I could rather wish in a case more material) of making me to understand the truth.

Of the forty-four years remaining in account at Nebuchadnezzar's death, we are to take away the last, which was the first of Darius the Mede, and then having authority good enough to warrant us from blame of presumption, in

[t] 2 Kings xxv. 27. Jer. lii. 31.

giving us seventeen years to Balthasar, we find left in our hands to bestow upon Evilmerodach twenty-six years. Of the year belonging to Darius the Mede, I have already spoken what I thought sufficient, in delivering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this captivity. That Balthasar did reign seventeen years, we have the authority of Josephus before cited in express words; we have also the general consent of all or the most late writers, interpreting Berosus's Nabonidus, who reigned so long, and Balthasar to have been one. But nothing moved me so much to believe this tradition, as, first, those evident places in [u] Daniel, shewing that in the third year of Balthasar he followed the king's business, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his reign, (a proof sufficient of no few years passing under this man, especially seeing it is nowhere found that Daniel's employments took end either that year or the next.) Secondly, the consideration of Cyrus's wars against the Assyrians, which beginning with the death of this man's father, and being always prosperous, could hardly have occupied any longer time, though we make large allowance to his deeds in the Lower Asia, which fell out in the midway: I have already shewed, that there appears in the scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible that the reign of Evilmerodach was not short; and that men of great judgment have found it most probable that he was king twenty-three years. More, I think, they would have allowed him, had not the desire of satisfying Berosus caused them to rest content with this. And surely it were greatly to be wished, that books of such antiquity as those of Berosus were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yield in many dark passages of antiquity. I will yet confess, that were his works never so excellent, and in all things else unquestionably true, I would not therefore condescend unto him in some one point, wherein the scriptures were his open enemy. How much less ought I to obey a broken fragment of his, containing only seven or eight lines, and part even of the title corrupted, as they be-

[u] Dan. viii. 1. 27. and i. 11, 12, 13.

lieve that follow him in the rest! The scriptures have told us that God gave the empire to [x] Nebuchadnezzar, to his son, and to his son's son: how long each of them held it, we find not expressed; yet would we gladly know it of Berosus, or of any other that would teach us; provided always, that helping us in a particularity, he destroy not thereby the general truth. More words are needless. It is enough to say with others, that Berosus, or Josephus who cited him, hath been wronged by the carelessness of scribes; and that it was as easy for those scribes to err in writing two for twenty-six, as for twenty-three, or perhaps more easy. For the omission of the second figure was as likely the one way as the other; and the character ϛ signifying six, hath a nearer resemblance of β that stands for two, than hath γ which is used for three. So that the numeral notes β ϛ expressing twenty-six, were not safe enough from being mistaken in the true copy, and might be altered, as ill written, if some crooked hand, or other mischance not unusual, had omitted the first stroke of the former letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to seem not two different figures, but the one a correction of the other, which how it could be supposed in βγ standing for twenty-three, I do not well perceive. As for the arithmetical figures now in use, they were long after the time of Josephus brought in by the Arabians, and therefore do not appertain to this business; unless we should guess that his works were corrupted in that unlearned age, which, following the Saracen conquest, was little occupied in the studies of humanity, but in a sort wholly given over to the doctrine of Aristotle. If this will serve to make Berosus our friend, so let it be; if not, I will not purchase the favour of his authority by forsaking Jeremy and Daniel, when they seem his opposites.

[x] Jer. xxvii. 7.

SECT. VII.

Of the victories which Nabuchodonosor obtained between the destruction of Jerusalem and conquest of Egypt.

WITH what actions this time of seventy years was entertained by the Babylonian kings, few have written, or little is remaining in record: which may peradventure have been some cause that the time itself was, and is yet sought to be abridged, as not having left sufficient matter to witness the length of it. But by such an argument we might as well deny to many people even their being. For every nation, (I know not whom I should except,) between the beginning and last end of it, hath in some slothful age rather dreamt away the time than spent it. It is therefore no marvel if the posterity of Nabuchodonosor, finding all things ready to their hand, which their hearts could have desired, betook themselves to their ease and pleasures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigal sons of greedy fathers, their own wisdom greater, which knew how to enjoy, than that of their ancestors, which wearied away their days in the restless travail of purchasing. Though indeed the reign of Nabuchodonosor was so divided, that his youthful and stronger years having been exercised in victorious arms, no small part of his life was remaining to be spent in establishing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthy labours past. The nineteenth year of his reign it was, when, destroying utterly the great and mighty city of Jerusalem, he enriched himself with abundance of spoil, and terrified all that would offer to resist him by that fearful example. From that time forward, until his twenty-third year, he laboured in the conquest of those adjoining regions, which God had exposed unto his sword, and commanded to wear his yoke; namely, the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Tyrians, Sidonians, and Egyptians, though some of these were already become his followers, and served under him, when Jerusalem was beaten down and burnt. But the Tyrians, whose city was founded on an island, safe enough from any danger of a land army, and whose fleet was so strong that they needed not to fear any enemy at sea, were

neither daunted with the fall of their neighbour cities, nor with the obstinate resolution of this mighty prince, employing all his power to their subversion.

That the city of Tyre was rather well pleased than any way discouraged with the fall of Jerusalem, (which had held the same course that Tyrus did, and endured all that might be in the same quarrel against the common enemy,) it appears by the words which Ezekiel condemneth as the common voice of Tyrus; [y] *Aha, the gate of the people is broken, it is turned unto me; for seeing she is desolate, I shall be replenished.* Yet at the length, even in the nineteenth year of Nabuchodonosor, that great work of his, whereof we have already spoken, began to appear above the waters, and threaten them with inevitable mischief.

But those prophecies of [z] Jeremy and of Esay, which appoint unto this desolation of Tyre the same term of seventy years, that was prescribed unto the reign of the Chaldeans, do plainly shew that she followed Jerusalem, the same nineteenth year of Nabuchodonosor, in the same or a very like fortune. The particularities, which doubtless were memorable in the issue of so great and laborious a siege, are in a manner utterly lost. Thus much we find, that the citizens perceiving the town unable to hold out, embarked themselves, and fled into the isle of Cyprus. Nevertheless it seems that this evasion served only the principal men, who escaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer sort unto the enemies' fury. For not only such people of Tyre as dwelt on the continent (who were called *her daughters in the field*) were put to the sword; but the like execution was done in the streets, into which with excessive labour the Assyrian made way for his horses and chariots. Thus [a] *Nabuchodonosor caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus, wherein every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare; yet had he no wages, nor his army;* but was fain to rest contented with the honour of having destroyed that city, which in all men's judgments had been held invincible.

[y] Ezek. xxvi. 2. [z] Jer. xxv. Isa. xxiii. 15. [a] Ezek. xxix. 18.

The destruction of these two great and powerful cities having made the name of the Chaldeans dreadful in the ears of all the nations thereabout, Nabuchodonosor used the advantage of that reputation which he had obtained by victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable, with less pain. The kingdom of Egypt was the mark at which he aimed; a country so abounding in all riches and pleasures, that it might well have tempted any prince, finding himself strong enough, to seek occasion of quarrel against it; and so far an enemy to the crown of Babylon, that had it been poorer, yet either it must have been subdued, or the conquest of Syria could ill have been established. Nevertheless it was needful that before he entered into this business, the countries adjacent should be reduced into such terms, that either they should wholly stand at his devotion, or at least be unable to work him any displeasure. And herein the decree of God concurred, as in all prosperous enterprises, with reason of state. For the people of Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar, Hazor, and other adjoining regions, whom God for their sins had condemned to fall under the Babylonian swords, were such, as, regarding only their own gain, had some of them, like ravens, followed the Chaldean army to feed upon the carcasses that fell by the cruelty thereof; others taking advantage of their neighbours' miseries, occupied the countries which were by his victories belonging to Nabuchodonosor; all of them thinking, that when the Assyrian had satisfied his fury, he should be fain to forsake those desolate parts, and leave the possession to those that could lay hand upon it. Particularly the [b] Edomites and Philistines had shewed much malice to the Jews when their city was taken. What good service they had done to the Chaldeans, I find not; if they did any, it is likely to have been with reference to their own purposes, wherein they were disappointed. The [c] Ammonites were not contented to rejoice at the fall of Jerusalem, but presently they entered upon the country of Gad, and took possession, as if

[b] Ezek. xxv. 12, 15. [c] Ezek. xxv. 3. Jer. xlix. 1.

not the Assyrians, but they, had subdued Israel. Neither can I perceive what other ground that practice had of [d] Baalis king of the Ammonites, when he sent Ismael, a prince of the blood of Juda, to murder Gedalia, whom the king of Babel had left governor over those that remained in Israel, and to carry captive into the Ammonites' country the people that abode in Mispah, than a desire of embroiling Nabuchodonosor with so many labours at once, as should make him retire into his own country, and abandon those wasted lands to himself and others, for whom they lay conveniently. Such or the like policy the Moabites did exercise, whose pride and wrath were made frustrate by God, and their dissimulation condemned, as not doing right.

All these nations had the art of ravening, which is familiar to such as live or border upon deserts; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the uttermost cunning of their thievish wits. But Nebuchadnezzar did cut asunder all their devices by sharp and sudden war, overwhelming them with unexpected ruin, as it were, in one night; according to the prophecies of [e] Esay, Jeremy, and Ezekiel, who foretold, with little difference of words, the greatness and swiftness of the misery that should come upon them. With which of them he first began, I find not; it seems that Moab was the last which felt his hand: for so do many good authors interpret the prophecy of Esay, threatening Moab with destruction after three years, as having reference to the third year following the ruin of Jerusalem; the next year after it being spent in the Egyptian expedition. This is manifest, that all the principal towns in these regions were burnt, and the people slain, or made slaves, few excepted, who being preserved by flight, had not the courage to return to their habitations overhastily, much less to attempt any thing against Nabuchodonosor, and lived as miserable outlaws, or at least oppressed wretches, until the end of the seventy years, which God had prescribed unto the desolation of their countries, as well as of the land of Juda.

[d] Jer. xl. 14. and xli. 2, 10. Jer. xxviii. 27, &c. [e] Isai. xvi. 14.

SECT. VIII.

That Egypt was conquered, and the king therein reigning slain by Nabuchodonosor, contrary to the opinion of most authors; who following Herodotus and Diodorus, relate it otherwise.

WHEN by a long course of victory Nabuchodonosor had brought into subjection all the nations of Syria, and the bordering Arabians, in such wise that no enemy to himself, nor friend of the Egyptians, was left at his back that might give impediment unto his proceeding, or take advantage of any misfortune; then did he forthwith take in hand the conquest of Egypt himself, upon which those other nations had formerly been depending. Of this expedition, and the victorious issue thereof, the three great prophets, Esay, Jeremy, and Ezekiel, have written so plainly, that I hold it altogether needless to look after more authority, or to cite for proof half of that which may be alleged out of these. Nevertheless we find many and good authors, who, following Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, are well contented to strain these prophecies with unreasonable diligence unto such a sense, as gives to Nabuchodonosor little more than the honour of having done some spoil in Egypt, omitting the conquest of that land by the Babylonian, and referring the death of Apries, or Hophra, to a chance long after following, which had no coherence with these times or affairs. So preposterous is the delight which many men take in the means and second helps conducing to their purpose, that oftentimes they prefer the commentator before the author; and to uphold a sentence giving testimony to one clause, do carelessly overthrow the history itself, which thereby they sought to have maintained. The reports of Herodotus and Diodorus concerning the kings of Egypt which reigned about these times are already rehearsed in the former book; but that which they have spoken of Apries was purposely reserved unto this place. [f] Herodotus affirms, that he was a very fortunate king, but wherein he telleth not, (unless we should understand that he was victorious in the war which he is said to have made upon Tyrus and Sidon,) that he

[f] Herod. l. 2. and l. 4.

reigned twenty-five years, and was finally taken and put to death by his own subjects, who did set up Amasis as king, which prevailed against him. The rebellion of the Egyptians he imputeth to a great loss which they received in an expedition against the Cyrenians, by whom almost their whole army was destroyed. This calamity the people of Egypt thought to be well pleasing to their king, who had sent them on this dangerous expedition, with a purpose to have them consumed, that so he might with greater security reign over such as stayed at home. So they who escaped, and the friends of such as were slain, rebelled against Apries, who sent Amasis to appease the tumult; but Amasis became captain of the rebels, and was by them chosen king. Finally, the whole land consented unto this new election, whereby Apries was driven to trust unto his foreign mercenaries, the Ionians and Carians, of whom he kept in readiness thirty thousand good soldiers that fought valiantly for him, but were vanquished by the great numbers of the Egyptian forces, amounting unto two hundred and fifty thousand, which were all by birth and education men of war. Apries himself being taken prisoner, was gently intreated by Amasis for a while, until the Egyptians, exclaiming upon him as an extreme enemy to the land, got him delivered into their hands, and strangled him, yet gave him honourable burial. Such is the report of Herodotus, with whom [g] Diodorus Siculus nearly agrees, telling us that Apries did vanquish the Cyprians and Phœnicians in battle at sea, took by force and demolished Sidon, won the other towns of Phœnicia and the isle of Cyprus, and finally perished, as is before rehearsed, when he had reigned twenty-two years. This authority were enough (yet not more than enough) to inform us of Apries's history, if greater authority did not contradict it. But the destruction of Egypt by the Babylonian, foretold by the prophets, which hath no coherence with these relations, hath greater force to compel our belief than hath the traditions of Egyptian priests, (which the Greek historians followed,)

[g] Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 2.

and greater probabilities to persuade those that look only into human reasons. For [h] Esay prophesied long before of the shameful captivity of the Egyptians, whom the king of Ashur should carry away naked, young and old, in such wise that the Jews, who fled unto them for deliverance from the Assyrian, should be ashamed of their own vain confidence in men so unable to defend themselves.

But Ezekiel and Jeremy, as their prophecies were nearer to the time of execution, so they handled this argument more precisely. For Ezekiel telleth plainly, that Egypt should be given to Nebuchadnezzar, as wages for the service which he had done at Tyre: also he recounteth particularly all the chief cities in Egypt, saying, that these by name should be destroyed and go into captivity; yea, that [i] *Pharaoh and all his army should be slain by the sword.* Wherefore it must needs be a violent exposition of these prophecies, which by applying the issue of such threatenings to an insurrection and rebellion, concludes all, without any other alteration in Egypt, than change of the king's person, wherein Amasis did succeed unto Apries, by force indeed, but by the uniform consent of all the people. Certainly, if that notable place of Jeremiah, wherein he foretelleth how the [k] Jews in Egypt should see Pharaoh Hophra delivered into the hands of his enemies, as Zedekias had been, were to be referred unto the time of that rebellion whereof Herodotus hath spoken, as the general opinion hath overruled it, then was it vainly done of the same prophet (which God forbid that any Christian should think, seeing he did it by the appointment of God himself) to hide in the clay of a brick-kiln those very stones upon which the throne of Nabuchodonosor should be set, and his pavilion spread; yea, then was that prophecy no other than false, which expressed the end of Pharaoh thus: [l] *Behold, I will visit the common people of No, and Pharaoh, and Egypt, with their gods, and their kings; even Pharaoh, and all that trust in him: and I will deliver them into the hands of*

[h] Isai. xx. 4, 5, 6.
[i] Ezek. xxix. 20. xxx. and xxxii. 31.
[k] Jer. xliv. 30. and xliii. 10.
[l] Jer. xlvi. 25, 26.

those that seek their lives, and into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babel, and into the hands of his servants. The clearness of this prophecy being such as could not but refute that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of Amasis, it caused me to wonder what those commentators would say to it, who are elsewhere so diligent in fitting all to the Greek historians. Wherefore looking upon Junius, who had in another place taken the enemies of Pharaoh Hophra to be Amasis and his followers, I found him here acknowledging that the Egyptian priests had notably deluded [m] Herodotus with lies, coined upon a vain-glorious purpose of hiding their own disgrace and bondage. And surely it may well be thought, that the history of Nebuchadnezzar was better known to the Jews, whom it concerned, than to the Greeks, that scarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I see no cause why we should not rather believe Josephus, reporting that Nabuchodonosor, in the twenty-third year of his reign, and the fifth year of the destruction of Jerusalem, did conquer Egypt, kill the king thereof, and appoint another in his stead, than Herodotus or Diodore; who being mere strangers to this business, had no great reason to labour in searching out the truth, but might rest contented with any thing that the priests would tell them. Now if, setting aside all advantage of authority, we should only consider the relations of [n] Josephus and of the Greek historians, as either of them might be verified of itself by apparent circumstances, without reflecting upon the Hebrew prophets or Egyptian priests; methinks the death of Apries can no way be approved, as having been wrought by consent of the people, but affords great matter of suspicion; yea, though no man had opposed the reports of Herodotus and Diodore. For the great love and honour which the Egyptians did bear unto their kings is notorious, by the uniform testimony of all others that have handled the matters of that country, as well as by the report of Diodore himself. How then can we think it probable that

[m] Jun. in Jer. xliv. 30. [n] Joseph. de Antiq. Jud. l. 10. c. 11.

Apries, having won great victories, did for one only loss fall into the hatred of all his people, or which may serve to persuade us, that a king of Egypt would seek, or so demean himself that he might be thought to seek, the destruction of his natural subjects? As for that army of thirty thousand soldiers, Carians and Ionians, which the king of Egypt, whom Amasis took prisoner, is said to have kept for his defence; doth it not argue that he was a foreigner, and one that armed himself against the Egyptians, wishing them few and weak, rather than any of the Pharaohs, who accounted the force of the country as assuredly their own as the strength of their own bodies? It were more tedious than any way needful, to use all arguments that might be alleged in this case. The very death of this supposed Apries, which the clamours of the people obtained of Amasis, who sought to have kept him alive, doth intimate that he was some foreign governor, not a natural prince; otherwise the people would have desired to save his life, and Amasis to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to disprove that opinion, whereunto I should not have yielded, though it had stood upon great appearance of truth, considering that the voice of truth itself cries out against it; but leave the circumstances proving the conquest of Egypt by Nabuchodonosor to be observed, where due occasion in course of the story following shall present them.

SECT. IX.

How Egypt was subdued and held by Nebuchadnezzar.

IT is a great loss that the general history of the world hath suffered by the spoil and waste which time hath made of those monuments, that should have preserved the memory of such famous actions as were accomplished by this mighty prince Nabuchodonosor; wherein, whether his virtue or fortune were greater, it is now uncertain. That his victories following the conquest of Syria, and the neighbour provinces, were such as did more enlarge his dominion than all his former wars had done, it may easily be gathered out of Ezekiel, who reckons up in his thirtieth chapter (besides

the whole country of Egypt) Phut and Lud, with other nations that may seem to have reached out into Mauritania, as people subdued by this great Babylonian. The circumstances of these wars are in a manner utterly lost; but that the victory was easy and swift, any man shall find, who will take the pains to confer the places wherein the three great prophets touch this argument. Thus much I think worthy of more particular observation, that Pharaoh, who (as is already noted in the former book) thought himself safe in Egypt by the well defenced situation of his country, did very unwisely in suffering his enemies to sweep the way clean unto his own doors, by consuming all his friends and adherents in Syria. For as the labour of this business did more harden than weary the Chaldean army, so the confidence and vain security of the Egyptians, relying upon the difficult passages which the enemy was to make through the Arabian deserts, and the much advantage which the great river of Nilus would afford unto themselves, did little avail them in provision for the war, and much astonish them (as may justly be thought) in the time of execution: it being usually seen that the hearts of men fail, when those helps fail in which they had reposed more confidence than in their own virtue. Hitherto the kingdom of Egypt had flourished under the rule of the Pharaohs about a thousand and five hundred and fourscore years; but from this time forward it remained forty years without a king, under the subjection of the Babylonians; and then at length it began to recover by little and little the former greatness, yet so that it was never dreadful unto others, God having said of that people, [o] *I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule the nations.* For whereas it hath been said of Pharaoh, [p] *I am the son of the wise, I am the son of the ancient kings;* and whereas he had vaunted, [q] *The river is mine, and I have made it;* the princes of Egypt now became fools, the river failed them, the king himself was taken and slain, and that ancient lineage quite extinguished. This came to pass in the first year after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the

[o] Ezek. xxix. 13, 14, 15. [p] Isai. xix. 11. [q] Ezek. xxix. 9.

twenty-third of Nebuchadnezzar, at which time (saith [r] Josephus) "he slew the king then reigning, placed another "in his room, and carried captives thence to Babylon the "Jews whom he found in that country." Now concerning the time which Josephus gives unto this business, and the business itself, I have already shewed that it is warranted by all the prophecies which insinuate the same. As likewise the last destruction of Jerusalem, and carrying away those unto Babel who inhabited the miserable ruins of that great city, which was in the same [s] *three and twentieth year of Nebuchadnezzar*, is not unprobably thought by good authors to have been at the return from this Egyptian expedition. But whereas Josephus tells us that there was another king put in the room of Apries by Nebuchadnezzar, we must understand that he was only a viceroy, and not (as some have mistaken it) think that this was Amasis. For to place the beginning of Amasis's reign in the twenty-third of Nebuchadnezzar, were as well repugnant unto the prophecies before alleged, as to all chronology and history. Some there are, which to help this inconvenience imagine that there were two successively bearing the name of Amasis; others, that there were two Apries, the one slain by Nebuchadnezzar, the other by Amasis; a question of small importance, because the difference is only about a name, it being once granted that the person mentioned in scriptures was deprived of life and kingdom by the Assyrians. Yet for any thing that I can perceive, that Apries, of whom the Greek historians wrote, could not be the deputy of Nebuchadnezzar, seeing that he was the grandchild of Pharaoh Necho, and made war (as they report) upon the Phœnicians, who were, before the Egyptians, become subject unto the crown of Babylon. I might add perhaps, that he whom Nebuchadnezzar left as governor of Egypt, was more likely to have had some Chaldean or Assyrian than Egyptian name; unless we should think that he had been a traitor to his natural prince, and so rewarded by the conqueror with lieutenantship of the country; about which it were but fri-

[r] Jos. Ant. Jud. l. 10. c. 11. [s] Jer. lii. 30.

volous to dispute. Thus much in brief we ought to believe, that Nabuchodonosor made an absolute conquest of Egypt; that he was not so foolish as to give it away, any man may guess; that he appointed one to rule the country, it is consequent unto the former, and hath authority of Josephus; that this governor (or some successor of his) was afterwards taken and slain by Amasis, I see probability enough to persuade myself; and yet can well be content, that others use their liberty, and believe what they list. As for the army which this Egyptian king Apries is supposed to have kept of Ionians and Carians, I hold them to be none other than the garrisons of mercenary soldiers which were left by the Assyrian for the guard of his viceroy, and custody of the new subdued province; as likewise the company returning from Cyrene and Barce, who together with the friends of such as were slain in that expedition, remembered before out of the Greek historians, deposed and slew Apries, I take them to have been the Egyptian fugitives which then recovered their own country. Sure it is that this prophecy of Ezekiel was verified; [1] *At the end of forty years will I gather the Egyptians from the people where they were scattered: and I will bring again the captivity of Egypt, and will cause them to return into the land of Pathros, into the land of their habitation; and they shall be there a small kingdom.* If the Egyptian priests alluded hereunto in the tale which they made of Amasis's obtaining the kingdom, then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they devised matter that had no shadow of truth, only to keep the Greeks from knowledge of their country's disgrace, then are they little to be regarded, since we know the truth with them.

SECT. X.

Of the sundry accounts drawn from sundry acts of Nebuchadnezzar, and of the destruction of Nineveh by him; the time of which action is uncertain.

THESE victories brought the greatness of the Assyrian empire to the full, and from them was reckoned the time of

[1] Ezek. xxix. 13, 14.

Nebuchadnezzar's reign in sundry places of scripture. To speak any more of the questions arising about the supputation of Nebuchadnezzar's times might seem to be the overhandling of one argument; yet thus much I will note, that whereas [u] Daniel was carried captive in the third year of Jehoiakim's reign, (which ran along with some part of Nebuchadnezzar's first year,) and was kept in diet three years more, before he was brought into the king's presence; it could not be the second of Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom wherein he interpreted the forgotten dream of the great image, foreshewing the succession of monarchies, but the second of his empire. The same or the like may be said of divers places which refer sundry matters unto their set years; as that of Ezekiel before cited, where he foretells that Egypt should be given in reward for the service done before Tyrus, dating his prophecy in the twenty-seventh year; and that of Daniel, placing the erection of the golden image in the eighteenth year: for these years held no dependance upon either the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom or of his empire, nor yet upon any of the captivities, but had reference to some memorable action omitted in scripture, and therefore not easy to be found, nor worth the labour of uncertain search.

Of any war made by Nebuchadnezzar after such time as he returned from the conquest of Egypt, I do not read; excepting that against Nineveh, the destruction whereof was foretold by the prophet Nahum. Nineveh had long before been taken by Merodach, (as in due place hath been shewed,) and together with the rest of Assyria made subject to Babylon. Yet was it left under a peculiar king, who rebelling against the Chaldean, as Jehoiakim and Zedekias, tributary kings of Judah, had done, tasted likewise of the same fortune. That the destruction of Nineveh followed the conquest of Egypt, it appeareth by the comparison which [x] Nahum the prophet made between this city, that was to fall, and the city of No in Egypt, that was fallen already. But how long after, this came to pass, it is, methinks, unpossible

[u] Daniel i. 2. [x] Nahum iii. 8.

to find out. For whereas it is found in an Hebrew chronology, that it was in the first of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, the place of Nahum last cited is enough to disprove it. Whereas it is referred by some unto the first of his monarchy, which began at the end of the Egyptian wars, the whole prophecy of Nahum, which went between the one and the other, argueth strongly, that there was a longer space of time intercurrent. So that to inquire into the very year of this destruction, or other circumstances of the war, whether managed by Nabuchodonosor in person, or by his lieutenants, were somewhat like unto the vain curiosity of Tiberius Cæsar, inquiring who was the mother of Hecuba; or to the like idle pains which he should take, who would seek to learn what woman that Huzzab queen of Nineveh was, whose woful captivity the same prophet Nahum likewise did foretell.

SECT. XI.

Of the later time of Nebuchadnezzar; his buildings, madness, and death.

OF the time which this great monarch spent in quiet, I think there are no monuments extant, save those which we find among the prophecies of Daniel. Among these we may reckon his great works at Babylon, wherewith he pleased himself so well, that he brake out into these glorious words: [y] *Is not this great Babel, that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?* Surely if those things be true that are by Josephus rehearsed of him out of Berosus and Megasthenes, he might well delight himself with the contemplation of such goodly and magnificent buildings. For it is said, that he fortified Babylon with a triple wall; that, besides other stately works, he raised those huge arches wherewith were borne up the high orchards, hanging as it were in the air, and equalling the tops of mountains, which most sumptuous frame, that outlasted all the remainder of the Assyrian, and all the Persian empire, is said to have been reared and finished in fifteen days.

But of all this, and other his magnificence, we find little

[y] Daniel iv. 30.

else recorded, than that (which indeed is most profitable for us to consider) his overvaluing of his own greatness abased him unto a condition inferior to the poorest of men. And not undeservedly fell these judgments of God upon him. For whereas God had honoured him, not only with many victories and much happiness in his own life, but with a discovery of things to come after him, yea, and had approved the certainty of his dream, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memory, and interpretation thereof by Daniel the prophet; he nevertheless became so forgetful of God, whose wonderful power he had seen and acknowledged, that he caused a golden image to be set up and worshipped; ordaining a cruel death as reward unto them that should dare to disobey his kingly will and pleasure, which was utterly repugnant to the law of him that is the *King of kings*. Hereof St. Jerome hath well noted, *Velox oblivio veritatis, ut qui dudum servum Dei quasi Deum adoraverat, nunc statuam sibi fieri jubeat, ut ipse quasi Deus in statua adoraretur;* "A hasty forgetfulness of the truth, that he who so "lately had worshipped (Daniel) the servant of God, as if he "had been God himself, should now command a statua to "be erected unto himself, wherein himself might be wor-"shipped as God." From this impiety it pleased God to reclaim him, by the strange and wonderful delivery of those blessed saints out of the fiery furnace, who being thrown into it bound, for refusing to commit idolatry, were assisted by an angel, preserved from all harm of the fire, loosened from their bands, and finally called out with gracious words, and restored to their former honour, by the king; who, amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his image he had violated. Yet this devotion of Nebuchadnezzar was not so rooted in him that it could bring forth fruit answerable to his hasty zeal: therefore was he forewarned by God in a dream of the terrible judgment hanging over his head, which Daniel expounding, advised him to *break off his sin by righteousness, and his iniquity by mercy towards the poor, that there might be an healing of his error*. Hereby it seems that injus-

tice and cruelty were the faults for which he was threatened; but this threatening sufficed not unto his reformation. For that so great a monarch should be driven from among men, (according to the tenor of the dream and interpretation,) yea compelled to dwell with the beasts of the field, and made to eat grass as the oxen, was a thing so incredible in man's judgment, that easily it might be thought an idle dream, and much more easily be forgotten at the year's end. One whole year's leisure to repent was given to this haughty prince; which respite of the execution may seem to have bred in him a forgetfulness of God's sentence. For at the end of twelve months, walking in the royal palace of Babel, he was so overjoyed and transported with a vain contemplation of his own seeming happiness, that, without all fear of God's heavy judgment pronounced against him, he uttered those lofty words before rehearsed, in vaunting of the majestical works which he had reared, as well beseeming his majestical person. But his high speeches were not fully ended, when a voice from heaven, telling him that his kingdom was departed from him, rehearsed over unto him the sentence again, which was fulfilled upon him the very same hour.

That Salomon and many other princes and great ones have taken delight in their own buildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I do not remember that ever I have read of any that were punished for rejoicing in works of this kind, (though it is hard in joy, or any passion of the mind, to keep a just measure,) excepting only this Nebuchadnezzar.

The like may be said of David: for other (and some very godly) kings have mustered all their forces to the very last man; but few or none have been known to have been punished as David was. Surely I not only hold it lawful to rejoice in those good things wherewith God hath blessed us, but a note of much unthankfulness to entertain them with a sullen and unfeeling disposition. Yet as all human affections, wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obscure clouds, hindering the influence of that blessed light which clarifies the soul of man, and predisposeth it unto the brightness of eternal felicity; so that in-

solent joy, which man in the pride of his vain imagination conceiveth of his own worth, doth above all other passions blast our minds, as it were with lightning, and make us to reflect our thoughts upon our seeming inherent greatness, forgetting the whilst Him to whom we are indebted for our very being. Wherefore these *mala mentis gaudia*, "the "evil joys of the mind," were not unaptly by the prince of Latin poets bestowed in the entrance of hell, and placed further inward than sorrows, cares, and fears; not far from the iron cabins of the furies. And certainly it is no unlikely token of vengeance near at hand, when these unreasonable flushes of proud and vain joy do rage in a mind that should have been humbled with a just repentance and acknowledgment of ill deserving.

This was verified upon Nebuchadnezzar, whose punishment was singular and unexampled. For he ran among beasts in the fields and woods, where for seven years he lived, not only as a savage man, but as a savage beast, for a beast he thought himself *secundum suam imaginationem*, as [z] Thomas noteth, and therefore fed himself in the same manner and with the same food that beasts do; not that he was changed in figure external, according to [a] Mediana, insomuch as he appeared a beast to other men's eyes, as St. Jerome, in the Life of Hilarius, (how true, God knows,) speaks of a woman that appeared to all other men's sight a cow, but to Hilarius only a woman; neither was he changed as Iphigenia the daughter of Agamemnon was said to be, into a hind, nor made a monster, as [b] Dorotheus and Epiphanius dreamed: but according to St. Jerome's exposition of these words, *At the same time was my understanding restored unto me*, &c. *Quando dicit* (saith St. Jerome) *sensum sibi redditum, ostendit non formam se amisisse sed mentem*; "When he "saith that his sense was restored unto him, he sheweth "that he had not lost his human shape, but his under-"standing." Seven years expired, it pleased God to restore Nabuchodonosor both to his understanding and his

[z] L. 2. de Reg. pri.
[a] Med. l. 2. de recta in Deum Fide, c. 7.
[b] Dor. in Synops. Ep. in Vit. Dan.

estate, for which he acknowledged and praised God all the rest of his life, [c] confessing his power and everlasting being; that he was the Lord of heaven and earth, and wrought without resistance what he pleased in both; that his works were all truth, and his ways righteous. Which gave argument to many of the fathers and others not to doubt of his salvation; namely, St. Augustine, Theodoret, Lyra, Carthusianus, and others. And for that place of Esay the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforenamed authors apply the same to Balthasar, because Esay, both in the thirteenth and fourteenth chapter, speaketh of the king and the destruction of Babylon jointly.

SECT. XII.

Of Evilmerodach.

HAVING already spoken what I could of the succession and years of Nebuchadnezzar's posterity, the most that may be said of him is said of Evilmerodach, which I will not here again rehearse.

He lost some part of that which his father had gotten; and left his kingdom burning in a war that consumed it to ashes. He lost Egypt by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth year of his reign, which was forty years after his father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the account of Herodotus, who allows to Amasis four and forty years of reign, nor with that of Diodorus, who gives him five and fifty, saying that he died in the third year of the threescore and third Olympiad, when Cambyses did conquer Egypt. There were indeed but seven and thirty years, which passed between the second year of the four and fiftieth Olympiad (which was the nineteenth of Evilmerodach, and the first of Amasis) and the fifth of Cambyses's reign, wherein he won Egypt, of which seven and thirty years it is credibly held that Psammennitus the son of Amasis reigned three; so that Amasis could be no longer king than four and thirty years. But seeing that these two Greek historians have been abused by Egyptian priests, in the

[c] Daniel iv. 32, 34.

substance of that which was spoken of Amasis, it is no marvel though they were also deceived in the length of his reign. This is the plain answer to this objection. For to say either that the numbers were miswritten, and four and forty set down instead of four and thirty, or that Amasis did temporise a while with the Assyrians, and not bear himself as absolute king of Egypt, until the nineteenth of Evilmerodach, (at which time, and not before, it hath been proved out of Ezekiel that Egypt became again a kingdom,) I hold it a superfluous excuse.

Whether these Egyptian troubles did animate the king of the Medes to deal with Evilmerodach as with a prince greater in fame and reputation, gotten by the decayed valour of his people, than in present forces; or whether (as I rather think) some foil, received by the Assyrian invading Media, emboldened the Egyptians to rebel against him, I will neither undertake nor seek to define. [d] Xenophon tells, that the first service of young Cyrus in war was under Astyages king of the Medes, his grandfather, in a prosperous fight against the Assyrian prince, who did set upon him; at which time Cyrus was fifteen or sixteen years old. If therefore Cyrus lived threescore and three years, (as he is said to have died well stricken in years,) which is held to be the ordinary term of no short life, then was this encounter in the third year of Evilmerodach's reign. Yet by the same reckoning it should follow, that the war began more early between these nations, forasmuch as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circumstances insinuating as much, are found in the same place of [e] Xenophon. And it may well be, that the death or destruction of Nabuchodonosor gave courage unto those that had felt him a troublesome neighbour, to stand upon prouder terms with the Assyrians, than in his flourishing estate they durst have used. Howsoever the quarrel began, we find that it ended not before the last ruin of the Assyrian monarchy. For the Babylonian, being too proud to digest the losses which he received by the Medes and their allies the Persians, drew

[d] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. [e] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 8.

unto his party the Lydians, and all the people of the Lesser Asia, with gifts and strong persuasions, hoping so to overwhelm his enemies with a strong invasion, whom in vain he had sought to weary out with a lingering war.

This happened after the death of Astyages, who left the world in the nineteenth year of Evilmerodach, at which time Amasis took possession of Egypt. So that the Assyrian having his hands already full of business, which more earnestly did affect him, seems thereby to have given the better means unto the Egyptians of new erecting their kingdom, which by long distance of place did sundry times find occasion to rebel in after-ages, and set up a king within itself, against the far more mighty Persian.

The issue of these great preparations made by Evilmerodach against the Medes, was such as opened the way unto the fulfilling of those prophecies which were many years before uttered against Babel by Esay and Jeremy.

For the Assyrians and their confederates, who, trusting in their numbers, thought to have buried the Medes and Persians under their thick showers of arrows and darts, were encountered with an army of stout and well-trained men, weightily armed for close fight, by whom they were beaten in open battle, wherein Evilmerodach was slain. So that great frame of empire which Nabuchodonosor had raised and upheld, being shaken and grievously cracked under his unfortunate son, was left to be sustained by his unworthy nephew; a man more likely to have overthrown it when it was greatest and strongest, than to repair it when it was in way of falling.

SECT. XIII.

A private conjecture of the author; serving to make good those things which are cited out of Berosus, concerning the successors of Evilmerodach, without wrong to the truth, the quality, and death of Balthasar.

THOUGH I have already (as it seems to me) sufficiently proved that Balthasar was the son and immediate successor to Evilmerodach, yet considering earnestly the conjectures of those writers which, following Berosus, insert Niglisar, or

Niriglissoroor, and his son Labassardach between them; as also that which I find in Herodotus of Nitocris a famous queen of Babylon, who greatly adorned and fortified that city; I have thought it not superfluous here in this place to shew by what means it was possible that some error might have crept into the history of those times, and thereby have brought us to a needless trouble of searching out the truth, as it were by candlelight, in the uncertain fragments of lost authors, which we might have found by daylight, had we adhered only to the scriptures. First therefore I observe, that the time which Berosus divides betwixt Evilmerodach and the two next kings agrees with the years in which Nebuchadnezzar lived wild among brute beasts in the open field. Secondly, that the suddenness of this accident, which came in one hour, could not but work much perturbation in that state, wherein doubtless the honour of so noble a prince was highly regarded, his calamity pitied, and his restitution hoped; the prediction of Daniel finding reputation in that clause which promised his recovery, as being verified in that which had been more incredible. Now if we do in common reason judge what course was like to be taken by the great ones of the kingdom, for settling the government, whilst the king was thus distracted, we shall find it most likely that his son and heir did occupy the royal throne, with condition to restore it unto his father, when God should enable him to repossess it. In this his rule, Evilmerodach, being to supply the utter want of understanding in his father, as [f] protectors do the unripeness of it in young, but reasonable kings, might easily either commit the insolencies, or fall into the troubles, incident to such an office. That he had in him very small ability of government, it appears by his ill maintaining the empire, when he held it in his own right. That his sister Nitocris (if Nitocris were his sister) was a woman of an high spirit, it appears by that which Herodotus reports of her, saying, that she was more cunning than Semiramis, as appeared in her magnificent and useful works about the river of Eu-

[f] Herodotus, l. 1.

phrates, and her fortification of Babylon against the Medes, who had gotten many towns from the Assyrians, and amongst them Nineveh. Wherefore it were not unreasonable to think that such a woman, seeing how the empire went to decay through her brother's misgovernment, used practices to get the rule into her own hands, and afterwards, as a mother, to leave it unto her ungracious son. Other time than this, wherein Nitocris could have reigned, we do not find; but we find in Berosus, (as Josephus hath cited him,) that Niglisar, who got the kingdom from Evilmerodach, was his sister's husband, which argues this to have been the same woman. As for Labassardach the son of Niglisar, if at the end of nine months reign he were for his lewd conditions slain by the nobility, as the same Berosus reporteth, it seems that God prepared here by the way for Nebuchadnezzar's restitution, (whose term of punishment was then expired,) by raising such troubles as should make him the more desired, both of the princes and the people. I will not here use many words to confute that which Berosus hath further set down of Evilmerodach, telling us that he was slain by his sister's husband: for the plain words of scripture naming the year wherein he gave liberty to Jechonia, do plainly testify that he outlived the three or four and fortieth year of his father's reign, which was the last of his life.

This may suffice to shew, that they who are said to have succeeded Evilmerodach in the kingdom might indeed have so done, though not when he held it in his own right. Of Balthasar, who was his son and heir, we find that he had such conditions as God permitteth to be in a king for the ruin of the people. He was from his young years of a mischievous nature, having in his father's time slain a noble young man that should have married his sister, only for spite and envy to see him kill two wild beasts in hunting, at which himself having thrown his javelin had missed them. Another great lord he had gelded, because a gentlewoman, commending his beauty, said it were a happy woman that should be his wife. Such barbarous villainies caused many

which had loved his father (as a good and gracious, though unfortunate prince) to revolt from him unto the enemy as soon as he was king. Neither do I find that he performed any thing worthy of record, but as a coward and a fool he lost all, sitting still, and not once daring to give battle to them that daily took somewhat from him; yet carelessly feasting when danger had hemmed him in on every side, and when death arrested him by the hands of those whom he had wronged in his father's life. So the end of him was base and miserable; for he died as a fool taken in unexcusable security, yet had not that happiness (such as it is) of a death free from apprehension of fear, but was terrified with a dreadful vision, which had shewed his ruin not many hours before, even whilst he was drinking in that wine which the swords of his insulting enemies drew out of him together with his latest blood. It is therefore in this place enough to say of him, that after a dishonourable reign of seventeen years, he perished like a beast, and was slain as he deserved. The rest that concerneth him in question of his time hath been spoken heretofore; in matter of his affairs, shall be handled among the acts of Cyrus, to whose story that of Balthasar is but an appendix.

CHAP. II.

Of the original and first greatness of the Persians.

SECT. I.

That the Medes were chief actors in the subversion of the Babylonian empire.

THE line of Belochus being now extinguished in Balthasar, the empire of Babylon and of Assyria was joined first to that of Media, which then was governed by Cyaxares, or Darius Medus, after whom Cyrus became lord and monarch both of Assyria and of Media itself.

Of the race of Phul Belochus there were ten kings besides himself, and of Arbaces as many are found by Metasthenes.

These two provincial governors, having cut down the last branch of Ninus in Sardanapalus, divided between them the eastern empire. Cyaxares, (whom the scriptures call Darius Medus,) the last of the race of Arbaces, dying about two years after that the line of Belochus was ended in Balthasar, the dominions, as well of the conqueror as of the conquered, fell to a third family, namely, to Cyrus of the house of Achemenes, the princes of which blood reigning in Persia had formerly been dependants on the Medes, and were of as little power at home as of fame abroad in the world.

Of the family of Achemenes, and line of the Persian kings, we shall hereafter find occasion in due place to intreat.

The nation of the Medes descended from Madai the third son of Japhet; that they had kings soon after the flood, Lactantius and Diodorus have found record; for Lactantius remembereth an ancient king of the Medes called Hydaspes, and Diodore speaketh of Pharnus with his seven sons, slain by the Assyrian in the beginning of their empire.

But of these who succeeded Arbaces the first, that freed his nation from the Assyrians. I take the list and number from Eusebius, adding Darius Medus; of whom I have spoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are these:

Arbaces	who reigned	28 years.
Sosarmus - - - -		30
Medidus - - - -		40
Cardiceas - - - -		13
Diocles - - - -		53
Phraortes - - - -		24
Cyaxares - - - -		32
Astyages - - - -		38
Darius Medus		

And though the Greeks ascribe the conquest of Babylon to Cyrus alone, yet the scriptures teach us that Darius was not only king of Media, and had the Persians his followers, but that the army victorious over Balthasar was his; as the Assyrian and Babylonian empire also was during his own life. For we find in Daniel that Darius of the Medes took the kingdom, being threescore and two years old: and fur-

ther, what officers it pleased him to set over the kingdom. And so was it prophesied by Isaiah long before: [g] *Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them*, &c. And by Jeremy, [h] *The Lord hath raised up the spirit of the king of the Medes: for his purpose is against Babel, to destroy it.* And in the eight and twentieth verse, *Prepare against her the nations with the king of the Medes, the dukes thereof, the princes thereof, and all the land of his dominion.* These scriptures Julius Africanus doth well open, who taking authority from Diodore, Castor, Thallus, and others, delivereth that Babylon was taken before Cyrus began to reign, which also agreeth with [i] Strabo, where he saith, That as the Medes were subjugated by the Persians, so before that, both the Babylonians and Assyrians were mastered by the Medes. And therefore the reports of Justin and Herodotus are not to be received, who attribute the taking of Babylon to Cyrus alone.

SECT. II.

By what means the empire was translated from the Medes to the Persians.

HOW the kingdom of the Medes fell into the hands of Cyrus, it is a doubt not sufficiently cleared by historians; but rather their different relations of his beginnings have bred the former opinion of those who give the conquest of Babel to the Persian only. For some there are who deny that Astyages had any other successor than Cyrus his grandchild by Mandane. Whereas Ctesias on the contrary side affirmeth, that Cyrus was no way descended from Astyages, (whom he calleth Astygas, or Apama,) but only that having vanquished him in battle, and confined him to Bactria, he married his daughter Amytis. But I find the relations of Ctesias often cited and seldom followed, and himself sometimes very justly reproved of wilful untruth.

Viginier, a diligent and learned historian of this age, produceth many probable reasons that Astyages had no such son as Cyaxares, or Darius Medus; and to confirm his

[g] Isai. xiii. 17. [h] Jer li. 11, 28. [i] Lib. 16.

opinion the more, he citeth Diodore, Justin, Strabo, Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates; and before them Castor, Thallus, and Phlegon, who do not find any such successor. Neither do Tatianus, Theophilus Antiochenus, Julius Africanus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Justin Martyr, Lactantius, Eusebius, St. Jerome, or St. Augustine, make report out of any faithful author by them read, that hath given other son or successor to Astyages than Cyrus.

Yet seeing that this manner of argument, *ab authoritate negative*, doth never enforce consent, we may be the bolder (all this great list of noble writers by him alleged notwithstanding) to affirm, that either Astyages himself must have been Darius of the Medes, which cannot agree with his place in the course of time; or else to give him some other successor, according to Josephus and [k] Xenophon, the same whom Daniel calleth Darius. For it is manifest, and without dispute, that the king of the Medes commanded in chief, and was absolute lord of that conquest, Cyrus during his life being no other than the lieutenant of his army, and subject to his authority; the strength of both nations, to wit, the Medes and Persians, with other the vassals of Darius, being joined together to compound it.

But it is very certain that the honour of that great victory over Babylon was wholly given to Cyrus, who was the instrument preordained and forenamed by God himself, not only for this action, but for the delivery of his church; a greater work in the eyes of God, than the subversion of any state or monarchy, how powerful soever.

And it may well be thought, that the soldiers employed in that service did rather ascribe the glory to him that was the best man of war, than to the Median, who was greatest in riches and power. All which also falling upon Cyrus by succession, and continuing in his posterity, did much augment the fame of his virtue, which among profane historians overgrew altogether the honour due to Cyaxares, both because he was old, and did nothing in person, as also because

[k] Zon. l. 1. c. 19. Jos. Ant. l. 10. c. 13. Xen. l. 8. Ped.

he soon after quitted the world, and left all to Cyrus, who was possessed of whatsoever belonged to Darius, before the fame of any such king or conqueror was carried far off.

And for the Greek historians, they took all things from the relations of the Persians, who gave to Cyrus all the praise of a most excellent prince, making none his equal. Only Daniel in the first, fifth, and sixth chapters of his prophecies, makes it plain that himself not only lived a great officer under king Darius, but that he continued in that estate to the first of Cyrus, which, being the year of Daniel's death, could not have been distinguished from the reign of Darius, if they had begun together and reigned jointly; neither can it be imagined that Darius held the kingdom by Cyrus's permission, considering that Cyrus began after him.

SECT. III.

Xenophon's relation of the war which the Medes and Persians made with joint forces upon the Assyrians and others.

THESE testimonies of the scriptures, which need no other confirmation, are yet made more open to our understanding, by that which Xenophon hath written of these wars; the cause whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the Assyrian had enlarged his empire with victories, and was become lord of all Syria, and many other countries, he began to hope that if the Medes could be brought under his subjection, there should not then be left any nation adjoining able to make head against him. For the king of the Medes was able to bring into the field threescore thousand foot, and above ten thousand horse, to which the forces of Persia being joined made an exceeding strong army.

The Assyrian, considering the strength of such a neighbour, invited Crœsus king of Lydia, a prince very mighty both in men and treasure, and with him other lords of Asia the Less, to his assistance, alleging that those eastern nations were very powerful, and so firmly conjoined by league and many alliances, that it would not be easy, no not possible, for any one nation to resist them. With these incitements,

strengthened with great presents, he drew to himself so many adherents as he compounded an army of two hundred thousand foot and threescore thousand horse; of which, ten thousand horse and forty thousand foot were led by Crœsus, who had great cause of enmity with the Medes, in regard of the war made by them against his father Alyattes; but this great army was by Cyaxares king of the Medes, and by Cyrus general of the Persian forces, utterly broken; upon which defeat, the Assyrian king being also slain, so many of the Assyrians revolted, as Babylon itself could not longer be assured without the succours of mercenaries, waged with great sums of money out of Asia the Less, Egypt, and elsewhere. Which new-gathered forces were also scattered by Cyrus, who, following his advantage, possessed himself of a great part of the Lesser Asia, at which time it was, as I take it, that Crœsus himself was also made prisoner.

The attempt of Babylon following soon after, the army lying before it being paid by Darius, whom Xenophon calleth Cyaxares, and led by Cyrus's sister's son, prevailed against Balthasar, as in due time shall be set down.

Those Persians which followed Cyrus, and by him levied, are numbered thirty thousand footmen, of which a thousand were armed gentlemen, the rest of the common sort were archers, or such as used the dart and the sling. So far Xenophon. Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he described in Cyrus the pattern of a most heroical prince, with much poetical addition; so it cannot be denied, but that the bulk and gross of his narration was founded upon mere historical truth.

Neither can it indeed be affirmed of any the like writer, that in every speech and circumstance he hath precisely tied himself to the phrase of the speaker, or nature of the occasion, but borrowed in each out of his own invention, appropriating the same to the times and persons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the moral and politic discourse, and examining but the history of things done, it will easily appear that Xenophon hath handled his under-

taken subject in such sort, that by beautifying the face thereof he hath not in any sort corrupted the body.

SECT. IV.

The estate of the Medes and Persians in times foregoing this great war.

FOR it is commonly agreed upon, that Achemenes the son of Perses, being governor of Persia, did associate himself with Arbaces, who commanded in Media in that rebellion against Sardanapalus, and that each of them, after the victory obtained, held for himself the dominion of those countries which he had formerly ruled for the Assyrians; as also that they conveyed over the same honour and power to their posterity, which in Media was not absolutely regal, but with some restraint limited, until such time as Deioces took upon him the full authority and majesty of a king. From the death of Sardanapalus to the reign of Deioces are usually accounted about an hundred and forty years, in the last sixty whereof there reigned in Assyria mighty princes, namely, Salmanassar and his successors, whose great achievements in Syria and elsewhere witness, that the Medes and Persians found it not for their advantage to undertake any offensive war against those victorious kings, it being also probable that the league continued as yet between these the successors of Belochus and Arbaces, who had formerly shared the empire.

Now from the beginning of Deioces to the first of Astyages there passed above ninety years; in which, if Herodotus have written truly, that Phraortes conquered Persia, and how he and other the kings of Media by many victories greatly enlarged their dominions, and commanded many parts of Asia, it had been but an unadvised enterprise of the Assyrians and Babylonians to have wasted themselves against the Syrians and Egyptians, leaving so able and victorious a nation on their backs. But that the Medes had done nothing upon the south parts of Persia, and that the Persians themselves were not masters of Susiana in Nabuchodonosor's time, it is manifest in Daniel, who was then

governor for the Babylonian in Susa, or Susan, the chief city thereof. It is true indeed that the Medians, either under Cyaxares or Astyages, or both, had quarrel with Halyattes the father of Crœsus, which after some six years dispute was compounded.

How the affairs of Persia stood in so many ages, I do not find any memory. It seemeth that the roughness of the mountainous country which they then possessed, with the confederacy which they continued with the Medes, gave them more security than fame: for if their kings, being the posterity of Achemenes, had done any memorable acts, the greatness which they afterward obtained would not have suffered any forgetfulness thereof. But as we find all Xenophon's reports, both of these wars and the state of those countries, to be very consonant and agreeable to the relation of many other good authors, so it appears that the race of Achemenes held the principality of Persia from father to son for many descents. And therefore we may better give credit to Xenophon, who affirmeth, that Cambyses the father of Cyrus was king of Persia, than to those that make him a mean man, and say, that Astyages gave him his daughter Mandane in marriage, to the end that her son (whose nativity he feared) might be disabled from any great undertaking by his father's ignobility.

For what cause of grief could it be to Astyages, that the son of his daughter should become lord of the best part of Asia? No; it was more likely, that upon such a prophecy his love to his grandchild should have increased, and his care been the greater to have married her to some prince of strength and eminent virtue.

Yea, the same Herodotus, who is the first author, and, as I think, the deviser of the mischief intended against Cyrus by his grandfather, doth confess, that the line of the Achemenidæ was so renowned, that the great king Xerxes in the height of his prosperity did thence derive himself, and vaunt of it; which he would never have done, had they been ignoble, or had they been the vassals of any other king or monarch.

For in this sort Xerxes, in the seventh of Herodotus, deriveth himself:

Achemenes,	Arsamnes,
Cambyses,	Hystaspes,
Cyrus,	Darius,
Teispeus,	Xerxes.
Ariaramnes,	

Of the Achemenidæ there were two races: of the first was Cyrus the Great, whose issue-male failed in his two sons Cambyses and Smerdis. This royal family is thus set down by the learned Reineccius:

Achemenes the son of Perses, first king of Persia.
Darius.
Cyrus, the first of that name, had Cambyses and Atossa; Atossa married to Pharnaces king of Cappadocia, by whom she had Artystona and other daughters.
Cambyses had
Cyrus the Great; Cyrus had
Cambyses, who succeeded him, and Smerdis slain by his brother Cambyses.

Of the second were those seven great princes of Persia, who, having overthrown the usurped royalty of the Magi, chose from among themselves Darius the son of Hystaspes king.

This kingdom of Persia was first known by the name of Elam, so called after Elam the son of Sem, and the people therein inhabiting Elamitæ; by Elianus, Elymæ; by Josephus, Elymi.

Suidas derives this nation sometimes from Assur, sometimes from Magog, of whom they were called Magusæi; which Magusæi, according to [l] Eusebius, are not to be taken for the nation in general, but for those who were afterward called the Magi, or wise men. So do the Greeks, among many other their sayings of them, affirm, that the Persians were anciently written Artæi, and that they called themselves Cephenes. But that they were [m] Elamitæ, Mo-

[l] Euseb. l. 6. c. 8. de Præp. Evang. [m] Gen. x. Is. xi. 21, 22. Jer. xxv. and xxix. Ezek. xxxii. Dan. viii. Esd. iv.

ses and the prophets Esay, Jeremy, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Esdras in many places confirm: which also St. Jerome upon Jeremy the twenty-fifth, upon Daniel the eighth, and in his Hebrew Questions approveth, saying, *Elam a quo Elamitæ principes Persidis;* "Elam, of whom were the Ela-"mites princes of Persia."

And that city which the author of the second book of the [n] Maccabees calleth Persepolis, is by the author of the [o] first called Elimais, but is now called Siras, being the same which Antiochus, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted in vain, and to his great dishonour. And yet this city, now called Siras, and in Antiochus's time Persepolis, was not the old Persepolis; for Alexander, at the request of Thais the harlot, burnt it.

The first king of Persia to us known, if we follow the current of authors interpreting the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, was Chedorlaomer, who lived with Amraphel, or Ninias, and joined with him in the war against those Arabians, who was afterwards extinguished by the forces of Abraham.

CHAP. III.

Of Cyrus.

SECT. I.

Of Cyrus's name and first actions.

As touching the name of Cyrus, there are who frame diverse opinions: as first, out of Strabo [p], who saith that it was taken from a river which watereth Persia; this great prince being formerly called Agradatus: secondly, out of Herodotus [q], that it signified *a father:* thirdly, out of Plutarch, that *Cyrus* in the Persian tongue signified *the sun.*

Howsoever the name is to be interpreted, the great Cyrus was neither the first nor last that was so called; and therefore we may boldly infer, that it was not given to him as an

[n] 2 Mac. ix. [o] 1 Mac. vi. [p] Strab. l. 15. [q] Herod. l. 3. Plut. in Vit. Artax.

attribute, but as a customary name. As for the place of Strabo, methinks it may well enough be interpreted as deriving the name of the river from the king, rather than contrariwise; and that of Herodotus plainly shows, that Cyrus for his goodness was called *father*, not that his name did signify so much.

This is sure, that the prophet Esay, almost two hundred years before Cyrus was born, gives him that name; *Thus saith the Lord unto Cyrus his anointed*, &c.

Before the conquest of Babylon, the victories which Cyrus obtained were many and great; among which, the conquest of Lydia, and other provinces thereto subject, together with the taking of Crœsus himself, are not recounted by Eusebius, Orosius, and others, but placed among his later achievements, whose opinion for this difference of time is founded upon two reasons; namely, that of the Median there is no mention in that last war against Crœsus; and that the obtaining of Sardis is referred to the fifty-eighth Olympiad, and the glorious victory which Cyrus had over Babylon, to the fifty-fifth Olympiad.

The former of which might have been used (and was by the Greeks) to exclude the Medes from the honour of having won Babylon itself, which in due place I have answered. The latter seems to have reference to the second war which Cyrus made upon Lydia, when it rebelled; at which time he so established his former conquest, as after that time these nations never offered to revolt. Wherefore I like better in this particular to believe with Herodotus, whom the most of chronologers follow, and find the enterprise of Sardis to precede that of Babylon.

SECT. II.

Of Crœsus the king of Lydia, who made war upon Cyrus.

I HAVE in the last book spoken somewhat of Crœsus, of his race and predecessors, as also of those kings which governed Lydia in more ancient times; of which the first (to profane authors known) was Lydus the son of Atys; which family extinguished, the kingdom was by an oracle

conferred upon Argon, descended from Hercules, whereof there were twenty-two generations, Candaules being the last, who by shewing his fair wife naked to Gyges his favourite, he was by the same Gyges (thereto urged upon peril of his own life by the queen) the next day slain: which done, Gyges enjoyed both the queen and the kingdom of Lydia, and left the same to Atys his son, who was father to Sadyattes, the father of Halyattes, (who thrust the [r] Cimmerians out of Asia,) and Halyattes begat Crœsus: which five kings, of a third race, enjoyed that kingdom one hundred and seventy years. Halyattes the father of Crœsus was an undertaking prince, and after he had continued a war against Cyaxares the Median, a prince very powerful, and maintained it six years, a peace was concluded upon equal conditions between them.

Astyages the son of Cyaxares, and grandfather to Cyrus, thought himself greatly honoured by obtaining Aryenes, Crœsus's sister, whom he married.

But Crœsus so far enlarged his dominions after his father's death, as he was nothing inferior in territory to any king or monarch of that age; of which, about that time, there were four in effect of equal strength; to wit, the Median, the Babylonian, the Egyptian, and the Lydian; only Nabuchodonosor, after he had joined Phœnicia, Palestina, and Egypt to his empire, had thenceforward no competitor during his own life.

But Crœsus, notwithstanding the men and treasure spent in the quarrel of the Babylonians, he yet mastered Æolis, Doris, and Ionia, provinces possessed by the Greeks in Asia the Less, adjoining to Lydia; gave law to the Phrygians, Bithynians, Carians, Mysians, Paphlagonians, and other nations. And that he also enforced the Ephesians to acknowledge him, notwithstanding they compassed their city with Diana's girdle, [s] Herodotus witnesseth. Moreover, [t] Athenæus out of Berosus (which also Strabo confirmeth) makes report of a signal victory which Crœsus obtained against the Saceans, a nation of the Scythians, in memory whereof

[r] Herod. l. 1. p. 3, 4, 5. [s] Herod. l. 5. [t] Athen. l. 14. c. 17.

the Babylonians his allies did yearly celebrate a feast, which they called Sacæa: all which he performed in fourteen years.

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and envious of Cyrus's fame, doubting also that his prosperous undertakings might in the end grow perilous to himself, he consulted with the oracle of Apollo, whom he presented with marvellous rich gifts, what success he might hope for against Cyrus, if he undertook him: from whom he received this riddle; *Crœsus passing over the river Halys shall dissolve a great dominion.* For the Devil, being doubtful of the success, paid him with merchandise of both sides like, and might be inverted either way to the ruin of Persia or of his own Lydia.

SECT. III.

Crœsus's expedition against Cyrus.

HEREUPON Crœsus, being resolved to stop the course of Cyrus's fortunes if he could, despised all the arguments used by Sandanes to the contrary, who desired him to forethink, that he urged a nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous region, a people not covered with the soft silk of worms, but with the hard skins of beasts; not fed with such meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of water, not of wine; and, in a word, a nation warlike, enduring, valiant, and prosperous; over whom if he became victorious, he could thereby enrich himself in nothing but fame, in which he already excelled; and if by them beaten and subjected, so great would his loss appear of all things which the world hath in account, as the same could neither hastily be told nor readily conceived.

Notwithstanding this solid counsel, Crœsus having prepared a powerful army, he led the same towards Media, but in his passage he was arrested at Pterium, a city of great strength in Cappadocia; which while he sought by all means to surprise or to force, Cyrus came on, and found the Lydians encamped before it. That each was inferior to other in strength or opinion, I do not find; for out of doubt, Crœsus, as he excelled any prince of that age in riches and

ability, so was he not under any in territory and fame that then lived.

But as Cratippus of Mitylene answered Pompey when he complained against the gods, because they favoured a disturber and usurper of the commonweal against him who fought for the Roman liberty, That kingdoms and commonweals had their increase and period from divine ordinance; so at this time was the winter of Crœsus's prosperity at hand, the leaves of his flourishing fortune ready to fall, and that of Cyrus but in the flower and first spring. The God of all power, and not Admetis's herdman, Apollo, had given date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the other.

When these two armies were in view of each other, after the entertainment of divers skirmishes, the Persians and Lydians began to join in gross troops; supplies from both kings thrust on upon the falling off and advancement of either nation; and as the Persians had somewhat the better of the day, so when the dark veil of night had hidden each army from the other's view, Crœsus, doubting what success the rising sun would bring with it, quitted the field to Cyrus, and with all speed possible retired, and taking the next way into Lydia, recovered Sardis his first city and regal seat, without any pursuit made by Cyrus to retard him. Where being arrived, and nothing suspecting Cyrus's approach, or any other war for that winter, he dismissed the soldiers, and sent the troops of his sundry nations to their own provinces, appointing them to reassemble at the end of five months, acquainting his commanders with his intents for the renewing of the war at the time appointed.

SECT. IV.

The conquest of Lydia by Cyrus.

CYRUS in the following morning finding the Lydians departed, put his army in order to pursue them, yet not so hastily, and at their heels, as to be discovered. But having good intelligence of Crœsus's proceeding, he so measured his marches, as he presented not himself before Sardis, till such time as Crœsus had disposed his army to their winter-

ing garrisons; when, being altogether unlooked for, and unfeared, he surrounded Sardis with his army; wherein Crœsus having no other companies than his citizens and ordinary guards, after fourteen days siege the same was entered by assault, and all executed that resisted. Crœsus having now neither arms to fight nor wings to fly, Sardis being on all parts strongly encompassed, [u] thrust himself into the heap and miserable multitude of his vassals, and had undergone the common fortune of common persons vanquished, had not a son of his, who had been dumb all his life, ([x] by extremity of passion and fear enabled,) cried out to the soldiers to spare Crœsus. Who thereupon being taken and imprisoned, despoiled of all things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and set on the top of a great and high heap of wood, to be consumed to ashes thereon. To which when the fire was set and kindled, remembering the discourse which he had with the Athenian lawgiver, he thrice cried out on his name, *Solon*, *Solon*, *Solon*; and being demanded what he meant by that invocation, he first used silence; but urged again, he told them, that he now found it true which Solon had long since told him, that many men in the race and courses of their lives might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could discern himself for happy indeed, till his end.

Of which answer [y] Cyrus being speedily informed, remembering the changes of fortune and his own mortality, he commanded his ministers of justice to withdraw the fire with all diligence to save Crœsus, and to conduct him to his presence; which done, Cyrus demanded of him who it was that had persuaded him, or what self-reason had conducted him to invade his territory, and to make him of a friend an enemy? To whom he thus answered, It was thy prosperous and my unprosperous destiny (the Grecian god flattering therewithal my ambition) that were the inventors and conductors of Crœsus's war against Cyrus.

Cyrus being pierced with Crœsus's answer, and bewailing

[u] In communi calamitate suam quisque habet fortunam. *Curt.*

[x] Memoriam metus perimit: timor vocis est incitamentum, &c. *Solin.* c. 7.

[y] Homo qui in homine calamitoso misericors est meminit sui. *Cass.*

his estate, though victorious over it, did not only spare his life, but entertained him ever after as a king and his companion, shewing therein a true effect of mercy indeed; *quæ non causam, sed fortunam spectat.*

And herein is the real difference discerned between that behaviour which we call *beneficium latronis*, and *gratiam principis;* a thief sometimes sparing the life of him which is in his power, but unjustly; a king that giveth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cause and author of his own evil.

The report made by Xenophon is, that Cyrus did friendly entertain Crœsus at the first sight, not mentioning that which Herodotus delivers, and is here already set down, that he should have been burnt alive. It may well be that Xenophon, pourtraying (in Cyrus) an heroical prince, thought an intent so cruel fitter to be forgotten than rehearsed, as too much misbeseeming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that nearness of alliance might withhold Cyrus (had he been otherwise vicious) from so cruel a purpose against his grandmother's brother. Howsoever it was, the moral part of the story hath given credit and reputation to the report of Herodotus, (as to many the like it often doth,) and made it pass for current, though the trust reposed in Crœsus afterwards may seem to argue, that Cyrus did not use him inhumanly at the first.

For as Herodotus himself telleth us, when Cyrus passed with his army over Araxes into Scythia, he left Crœsus to accompany and advise his son Cambyses, governor of the empire in his absence, with whom he lived all the time of Cyrus, and did afterwards follow Cambyses into Egypt, where he hardly escaped his tyrannous hand. What his end was I do not find.

But in this time the races of three of the greatest kings in that part of the world took end, to wit, of the Babylonians, Medians, and Lydians, in Balthasar, Cyaxares, and Crœsus.

SECT. V.

How Cyrus won Babylon.

AFTER this Lydian war ensued the great conquest of

Babylon, which gave unto Cyrus an empire so large and mighty, that he was justly reputed the greatest monarch then living upon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action took up, it is uncertain; only it seems, that ten whole years did pass between his taking those two cities of Sardis and Babylon, which nevertheless I do not think to have been wholly occupied in provision for the Assyrian war, but rather to have been spent in settling the estate which he had already purchased. And hereunto perhaps may be referred that which Ctesias hath in his fragments, of a war made by Cyrus upon the Scythians, though related as foregoing the victory obtained against Crœsus. He telleth us, that Cyrus invaded Scythia, and, being victorious over that nation, took Amorges their king prisoner: but being in a second battle overthrown by the wife of Amorges, Sparetha, and therein taken, the one king was delivered for the other.

Likewise it may be thought that no small part of those troubles which arose in the Lower Asia, grew soon after the departure of the victorious army, before the conquest was fully established.

For after Cyrus was returned out of Asia the Less, many nations, conquered formerly by Crœsus, and now by Cyrus, revolted from him; against whom he employed Pactias, and then Harpagus, who first reduced the Phocians under their former obedience, and then the rest of the Greeks inhabiting Asia the Less, as the Ionians, Carians, Æolians, and Lycians, who resolvedly (according to the strength they had) defended themselves. But in the attempt upon Babylon itself, it is not to be doubted that Cyrus employed all his forces, having taken order beforehand, that nothing should be able to divert him, or to raise that siege, and make frustrate the work upon which he did set all his rest. And great reason there was, that he should bend all his care and strength unto the taking of that city, which beside the fame and reputation that it held, as being head of an empire thereon depending, was so strongly fenced with a treble wall of great height, and surrounded with waters un-

fordable, so plentifully victualled for many years, that the inhabitants were not only free from all doubt and fear of their estate, but despised and derided all purposes and power of their besiegers.

The only hope of the Medes and Persians, who despaired of carrying by assault a city so well fortified and manned, was, in cutting off all supplies of victuals and other necessaries: whereof though the town was said to be stored sufficiently for more than twenty years, yet might it well be deemed, that in such a world of people as dwelt within those gates, one great want or other would soon appear, and vanquish the resolution of that unwarlike multitude. In expecting the success of this course, the besiegers were likely to endure much travail, and all in vain, if they did not keep strait watch and strong guards upon all quarters.

This was hard to do, in regard of the vast circuit of those walls which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men sufficiently assured unto their commander; the consideration whereof ministered unto the Babylonians matter of good pastime, when they saw the [z] Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, and others, quartered about their town to keep them in, who having been their ancient friends and allies, were more likely to join with them, if occasion were offered, than to use much diligence on the behalf of Cyrus; who had, as it were yesterday, laid upon their necks the galling yoke of servitude. Whilst the besieged were pleasing themselves in this deceitful gladness, that is the ordinary forerunner of sudden calamity, Cyrus, whom the ordinance of God made strong, constant, and inventive, devised, by so many channels and trenches as were sufficient and capable of Euphrates, to draw the same from the walls of Babylon, thereby to make his approach the more facile and assured; which when by the labour of many hands he had performed, he stayed the time of his advantage for the execution; for he had left certain banks or heads uncut, between

[z] Xenoph. Cyroped. l. 7.

the main river which surrounded the city, and his own trenches.

Now Balthasar, finding neither any want or weakness within, nor any possibility of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding sumptuous feast, public plays, and other pastimes; and thereto invited a thousand of his princes or nobility, besides his wives, courtesans, and others of that trade. This he did, either to let the besiegers know that his provisions were sufficient, not only for all needful uses, but even for jollity and excess; or because he hoped that his enemies, under the burden of many distresses, were well near broken; or in honour of Bel his most reverenced idol; or that it was his birth or coronation-day; or for many or all these respects. And he was not contented with such magnificence as no prince else could equal, but (using Daniel's words) *he lifted himself up against the Lord of heaven;* for he and his princes, wives, and concubines, made carousing cups of the vessels of God, in contempt of whom he praised his own puppets, made of silver and gold, of brass, of iron, wood, and stone: *Quanta fuit stultitia in vasibus aureis bibentes, ligneos et lapideos deos laudare!* "How great a foolishness was it," (saith St. Jerome,) "drinking in golden cups, to praise gods of wood "and stone!" While Balthasar was in this sort triumphing, and his brains well filled with vapours, he beheld a hand, which by divine power wrote on the wall opposite unto him certain words which he understood not; wherewith so great a fear and amazement seized him, as [a] *the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against the other.* Which passion when he had in some part recovered, he cried out for his Chaldeans, astrologians, and soothsayers, promising them great rewards, and the third place of honour in the kingdom to him that could read and expound the writing; but it exceeded their art. In this disturbance and astonishment, the queen hearing what had passed, and of the king's amazement, after reverence done, used this speech; *There is a man in thy kingdom, in whom*

[a] Dan. v. 6.

is the spirit of the holy gods; and in the days of thy father light and understanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, was found in him; whom the king Nabuchodonosor thy father, the king (I say) thy father, made chief of the enchanters, astrologians, Chaldeans, and soothsayers; because a more excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, &c. *were found in him, even in Daniel*, &c. *Now let Daniel be called, and he will declare the interpretation.*

This queen Josephus takes for the grandmother, [b] Origen and Theodoret for the mother of Balthasar; either of which may be true; for it appeareth that she was not any of the king's wives, because absent from the feast; and being past the age of dancing and banqueting, she came in upon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the king in his distraction. And whereas Daniel was forgotten and neglected by others of younger years and times, this old queen remembered well what he had done in the days of Nabuchodonosor, grandfather to this Balthasar, and kept in mind both his religion and divine gifts.

When Daniel was brought to the king's presence, who acknowledged those excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promises of reward and honour, to read and interpret those words miraculously written; to whom Daniel made answer in a far different style from that he used towards his grandfather; for the evil which he foretold Nabuchodonosor, he wished that the same might befall his enemies; but to this king (whose neglect of God and vice he hated) he answered in these words; *Keep thy rewards to thyself, and give thy gifts to another; yet will I read the writing unto the king, and shew him the interpretation.* Which before he had performed, he gave him first the cause of God's just judgment against him, and the reason of this terrible sentence, whereof the king and all his wise men were utterly ignorant. Which being written at large in Daniel, chap. v. 18, 19, 20. hath this effect, that forgetting God's goodness to his father, whom all nations feared and obeyed, and that

[b] Orig. et Theod. in Dan. Joseph. Ant. 10.

for his pride and neglect of those benefits, as he deprived him of his estate and understanding, so upon the acknowledgment of God's infinite power he restored him to both. This king notwithstanding lifted himself up against the same God; and presuming both to abuse those vessels dedicated to holy uses, and neglecting the Lord of all power, praised and worshipped the dead idols of gold, silver, brass, iron, stone, and wood; and therefore those words, from the oracle of a true God delivered, (to wit,) *Mene*, *Tekel*, *Upharsin*, gave the king knowledge that God had numbered the time of his kingdom, and finished it; that he was weighed in the balance of God's justice, and found too light; and that his empire was divided, and given to the Medes and Persians.

The very evening or night of this day, wherein Balthasar feasted and perished, Cyrus, either by his espial, according to Xenophon, or inspired by God himself, whose ensign he followed in this war, found the time and opportunity to invite him; and therefore while the king's head and the heads of his nobility were no less filled with the vapours of wine, than their hearts were with the fear of God's judgment, he caused all the banks and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut down with that diligence, as by them he drew the great river of Euphrates dry for the present, by whose empty channel his army made their entrance, finding none to disturb them. All the town lay buried (as the poet saith) in sleep and wine; such as came in the Persians way were put to the sword, unless they saved themselves by flight, as some did, who ran away crying, and filling the streets with an uncertain tumult.

Such Assyrian lords as had revolted from Balthasar, and betaken themselves to the party of Cyrus, did now conduct a selected company to the king's palace; which having easily forced, they rushed into the chamber where the king with his princes were banqueting, slew both him and them without any mercy, who struggled in vain to keep those lives which God had newly threatened to take away. And now was the prophecy of Jeremy xxvii. fulfilled, and that

of Esay xlvii. two hundred years before this subversion; who in his forty-seventh chapter, and elsewhere, writeth this destruction so feelingly and lively, as if he had been present both at the terrible slaughter there committed, and had seen the great and unfeared change and calamity of this great empire; yea, and had also heard the sorrows and bewailings of every surviving soul thereunto subject. His prophecy of this place he beginneth in these words; *Come down, and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babel, sit on the ground: there is no throne*, &c. And again, *Sit still, and get thee into darkness, O daughter of the Chaldeans: for thou shalt no more be called, The lady of kingdoms.* For though it cannot be doubted that God used Nabuchodonosor, and the Chaldeans, to punish the idolatry of the Judæans; yet [c] Isaiah teacheth us in this place, that he did not yet forget that the execution of his judgments was mixed with a rigorous extremity. For, saith Isaiah, in the person of God, *I was wroth with my people, I have polluted mine inheritance, and given them into thine hand: thou didst shew them no mercy; but thou didst lay thy very heavy yoke upon the ancient. I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and will cut off from Babel the name, and the remnant, and the son, and the nephew.* And in the thirteenth, *Every one that is found shall be stricken through; whosoever joineth himself shall fall by the sword, their children also shall be broken in pieces before their eyes; their houses spoiled, and their wives ravished.* So as there is no historian who was either present at this victory of Cyrus, or that received the report from others truly as it was, that could better leave the same to posterity after it happened, than Isaiah had done in many places of his prophecies, which were written two hundred years before any thing attempted.

The greatness and magnificence of Babylon, were it not by divers grave authors set down, might seem altogether fabulous: for, besides the reports of St. Jerome, Solinus, and Orosius, Aristotle, in the third of his Politicks, the se-

[c] Isa. xiv. to wit, Evilmerodach and Balthasar.

cond chapter, received the report for true, that one part of the city knew not that the rest was taken three days after: which is not impossible, if the testimony of [d] Diodorus Siculus may be taken, who finds the compass thereof at three hundred and sixty stadia or furlongs, which makes forty-five miles; the walls whereof had so great a breadth, that six chariots might pass in front thereon. And of height, according to Ctesias and Clitracus, three hundred threescore and five foot, garnished with an hundred and fifty towers. Strabo, in the beginning of his sixteenth book of Geography, gives it a greater circuit, adding twenty-five furlongs more to the former compass, reckoning the same at three hundred fourscore and five furlongs, which makes forty-eight miles and one furlong, but finds the wall far under that which Diodore reports; and so doth Curtius measure their thickness but at thirty-two foot, and their height at an hundred cubits, which is also very much; every cubit containing a foot and half of the large measure, though to the whole circuit of the city he gives the same with Siculus, and eight furlongs more. [e] Herodotus finds a greater content than Strabo doth, namely, four hundred and fourscore furlongs in circle; the thickness of the wall he measures at fifty cubits, and the height at two hundred of the same regal cubit. For entrance, it had an hundred gates of brass, with posts and hooks to hang them on of the same metal; and therefore did the prophet [f] Esay rightly entitle Babylon, *The princess and glory of kingdoms.*

But when Cyrus had won her, he stripped her out of her princely robes, and made her a slave, dividing not only all her goodly houses, and her whole territory, with all the riches therein contained, among his soldiers; but bestowing the inhabitants themselves as bondslaves upon those that had taken possession of their goods.

Touching the reign of Cyrus, and the time which he enjoyed in rest and pleasure, I can say no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all chronologers to have lasted only seven years; in which time he made such constitutions

[d] Diod. l. 3. [e] Her. l. 1. [f] Isa. xlvii. and xiii.

as differ little from the ordinances of all wise kings that are desirous to establish a royal power in themselves and their posterity.

SECT. VI.

The end of Cyrus.

THE last war, and the end of this great king Cyrus, is diversely written. Herodotus and Justin deliver, that after the conquest of Asia the Less, Cyrus invaded the Massagetes, a very warlike nation of the Scythians, governed by Tomyris their queen; and that in an encounter between the Persians and these northern Nomades, Tomyris lost her army, and her son Spargapises that commanded it: in revenge whereof, this queen making new levies of men of war, and following the war against Cyrus, in a second battle beat the Persian army, and taking Cyrus prisoner, cut off his head from his body, and cast the same into a bowl of blood, using these words: "Thou that hast all thy life-"time thirsted for blood, now drink thy fill, and satiate thy-"self."

It should hereby seem that Cyrus, knowing the strength and multitude of those frozen nations, was persuaded to abate their fury by some forcible invasion and depopulation, because in the time of Cyaxares, father to Astyages, those Scythians invaded Media and Asia the Less, and held the same in a servile subjection twenty-eight years.

This war, which Metasthenes calleth Tomyrique, lasted (saith he) six years, and took end at the death of Cyrus.

But in this particular I believe with Viginier, that this Scythian war was rather the same which Cyrus made against the Sacians, before the conquest of Lydia, according to Ctesias before cited, who calleth Tomyris, Sparetha, though he deliver the success of that war otherwise than Herodotus doth: the rather, (saith [g] Viginier,) because Strabo, in his eleventh book, reciteth, that Cyrus surprised the Sacians by the same stratagem by which Justin saith he defeated the son of Tomyris. And the same [h] Ctesias also reporteth, that the last war which Cyrus made was against Amor-

[g] Vig. prim. part. Bib. [h] Ctes. l. 15. hist. part.

rhæus king of the Derbicians, a nation (as the rest) of Scythia; whom though he overcame, yet he then received the wound of his death, which he suffered three days after.

[i] Strabo also affirmeth that he was buried in his own city of Pasagardes, which himself had built, and where his epitaph was to be read in his time; which is said to have been this: *O vir, quicunque es, et undecunque advenis, neque enim te adventurum ignoravi; ego sum Cyrus qui Persis imperium constitui, pusillum hoc terræ quo meum tegitur corpus mihi ne invidias;* "O thou man, whosoever thou "art, or whencesoever thou comest; for I was not ignorant "that thou shouldest come: I am Cyrus, that founded the "Persian empire; do not envy unto me this little earth with "which my body is covered."

This tomb was opened by Alexander, as Quintus Curtius, l. 1. reporteth, either upon hope of treasure supposed to have been buried with him, (or upon desire to honour his dead body with certain ceremonies,) in which there was found an old rotten target, two Scythian bows, and a sword. The coffin wherein his body lay, Alexander caused to be covered with his own garment, and a crown of gold to be set upon it. These things well considered, as they give credit to the reports of [k] Xenophon and Zonaras, so they derogate much from Herodotus, who leaves his body in the hands of Tomyris.

And surely had Cyrus lost the army of Persia in Scythia, it is not likely that his son would so soon have transported all his remaining forces into Egypt, so far off from that quarter; the Scythian nation then victorious, and bordering Media: neither had Cambyses been able in such haste to have undertaken and performed so great a conquest. Wherefore I rather believe Xenophon, saying, that Cyrus died aged, and in peace: and that finding in himself that he could not long enjoy the world, he called unto him his nobility, with his two sons Cambyses and Smerdis, or, after Xenophon, Tanaoxares; and, after a long oration, wherein he assured himself, and taught others, of the im-

[i] Strab. l. 15. [k] Xen. Paed. 8. Zon. l. 1. c. 20.

mortality of the soul, and of the punishments and rewards following the good and ill deserving of every man in this life; he exhorted his sons by the strongest arguments he had, to a perpetual concord and agreement. Many other things he uttered, which make it probable that he received the knowledge of the true God from Daniel, when he governed Susa and Persia, and that Cyrus himself had read the prophecy of Isaiah, wherein he was expressly named, and by God (for the delivery of his people) preordained. Which act of delivering the Jews from their captivity, and of restoring the holy temple and city of Jerusalem, was in true consideration the noblest work that ever Cyrus performed. For in other actions he was an instrument of God's power, used for the chastising of many nations, and the establishing of a government in those parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the grace to be an instrument of God's goodness, and a willing advancer of his kingdom upon earth, which must last for ever, though heaven and earth shall perish.

SECT. VII.

Of Cyrus's decree for building the temple of God in Jerusalem.

HAVING therefore spoken of his great victories, mentioned by sundry historians, the glory of all which was as a reward of this his service done unto him that was Author of them and of all goodness; I hold it meet at length to speak of the decree made in the first of his reign, being perhaps the first that ever he made after his possession of the Babylonian empire: that the captive Jews should return again into their own territory, and rebuild the house of God in Jerusalem, having now endured and finished seventy years captivity, by the prophets foretold. For the accomplishing whereof, he gave order to his treasurers to furnish them with all things necessary and wanting. He also restored unto them five thousand four hundred and sixty-nine vessels of gold and silver, whereof Nabuchodonosor, the grandfather of Balthasar, had formerly robbed the temple.

The number of the Jews which returned out of Chaldea

under their leader [l] Zorobabel the son of Salathiel, and nephew to king Jeconias, and Jesus, or Josua, the son of Josadak, were about fifty thousand; where, as soon as they arrived, they built an altar to the living God, and sacrificed thereon, according to their own law, and afterwards bethought themselves how to prepare materials for the [m] rebuilding of the temple.

But no sooner did the Jews begin to lay any one stone, than the Samaritans, and other idolatrous nations adjoining, gave all the impediment they could. So did the governors of those provinces under Cyrus altogether countenance the disturbers, and in no sort favoured the Jews, nor the labours and purposes they had in hand. And not only those which were but provincial lieutenants, and other officers of less place, but Cambyses himself; who having the charge of the whole empire, while Cyrus was busied otherwise, countermanded the building begun. And whereas some authors make doubt, that whatsoever Cambyses did when himself had obtained the empire, yet during the life of Cyrus there was no such impediment or prohibition; they may herein resolve themselves out of Esdras, that by the conspiracies of the neighbouring nations, the building was hindered all the time of king Cyrus's life, &c. And therefore it is true what the Jews themselves affirm, as it is written in the second of John, that the temple was forty-six years in setting up, having received so many hinderances from the first foundation to the second of Darius.

And if we seek the natural and politic courses which moved Cambyses to withstand his father's decree, as well while he governed under him, as when himself became sole and sovereign monarch, we shall find them in that epistle remembered by Esdras, written by Belemus, Mithridates, and the rest, presidents and counsellors in Phœnicia, wherein they complain that the Jews were evermore rebellious, and troublers of kings; that their city being once built, they would then refuse to pay tribute, and fall from the obedi-

[l] 1 Esd. ii. 2 Esd. vii. Phil. in bre. and v. Jos. Ant. 11. 1 Esd. ii. 16.
[m] Esd. iii. 3. Esd. v. Esd. iv. 1 Esd. v. 33. 1 Esd. iv. 5. 1 Esd. ii.

ence of the empire, as they had formerly done in the times of other kings.

But that which for that present seemed the most forcible impediment was, that Cambyses having it in his resolution to invade Egypt, and that it was a common opinion that the Jews were descended of those nations, because they issued thence under Moses, when they conquered Judæa; their city being once repaired and fortified, they might return to their old vomit, and give the same disturbance to Cambyses' conquest, which they did to Sennacherib, Nabuchodonosor, and other kings of Babylon. For, as it is written in Ezekiel, [n] *Egypt was the confidence of the house of Israel.*

But it is to be understood, as Codoman and others have observed, that Artaxerxes, to whom the counsellors and governors of Phœnicia complained against the Jews, did not precede, but succeed Darius Hystaspes, as in the sixth and seventh chapters of Esdras it is made plain: and also that those governors (whose epistle sheweth as much) did not withstand the building of the temple, but the fortifying and enclosing of the city, as by the reasons given in the said epistle, and by the king's answer, it is evident.

Also in the sixth of Ezra, the fourteenth verse, the kings are named in order as they governed, and Artaxerxes written after Darius; as, *And they built and finished it* (to wit the temple) *by the appointment of the God of Israel, and by the commandment of Cyrus, and Darius, and Artahshaste king of Persia.* Lastly, in the seventh of Ezra it is written, *Now after these things, in the reign of Artahshaste king of Persia:* which was as much to say as after the finishing of the temple in David's time. And therefore Artaxerxes in the second of Esdras is there named by anticipation, not in his own time and place.

And thus much concerning the rebuilding of the city and temple of Jerusalem. Which action, though prospered by the hand of God, was very slowly pursued by the men whom it most concerned, but first set on foot by Cyrus.

[n] Ezek. xxix.

The other ordinances of Cyrus, with his form and manner of government, are to be found in Xenophon. At his death, he bequeathed the empire unto his eldest son Cambyses, appointing Smerdis, or Tanaoxares, his younger son, to be satrapa, or lieutenant of Media, Armenia, and Cadusia; and then died, after he had reigned (saith Herodotus) thirty-one years, or (according to Justin) but thirty.

SECT. VIII.

Of Cyrus's issue: and whether Atossa were his daughter, or (as some think) were the same with queen Esther.

CYRUS had issue two sons, Cambyses and Smerdis, with three daughters, Atossa, Meroe, and Artystona; Ctesias addeth to these Amytis. Atossa and Meroe their brother Cambyses married; Artystona, Darius Hystaspes obtained; so did he Atossa, Cambyses being dead; who (as some writers have supposed) inflamed both her husband Darius, and Xerxes after him, to invade Greece, to be avenged of the whole nation for the cruel intent that Aman (whom the old translation calleth a Macedonian) had against the Jews; though the opinion of Josephus be more probable, who finds Aman to be an Amalekite. But it is hard to be understood how Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, should have been Esther, whose history seems rather to appertain to the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus, than of Darius the son of Hystaspes or of Xerxes. The desire of Atossa to have Greece brought under the yoke of Persia was partly grounded upon the honour which thereby she thought her husband might obtain, partly upon a feminine humour of getting many brave dames, Corinthians, Athenians, and others of that nation, to be her bondwomen. Wherefore I cannot give assent to the opinion of Codoman, who upon the near sound of the two names Atossa and Hadassa (by the latter of which Esther was also called) makes them to have been one person. For though it be true that Esther, concerning her parentage, a while might be taken for a great lady; yet Codoman's inference is nothing probable, that she should therefore, and for the great

affection which the king bare unto her, be thought the daughter of Cyrus. Certain it is, that Esther did at length discover her kindred and nation, whereby, if histories could not be kept free from this error, yet the people, and especially the nobility, must needs have understood the truth; who nevertheless did so well know the parentage of Atossa, that for her sake, as being daughter of Cyrus, her son Xerxes was preferred to the kingdom before his elder brother, against whom also he could have pretended a very weak claim. But of these things more hereafter in fitter place.

CHAP. IV.

The estate of things from the death of Cyrus to the reign of Darius.

SECT. I.

Of the number and names of the Persian kings.

OF the successors of Cyrus, and the continuance of the Persian empire, there are many opinions; as that of Metasthenes, who hath numbered the Persian kings and their times as followeth:

Darius Medus and Cyrus jointly - -	2 years.
Cyrus alone - - - - - - - - - -	22
Priscus Artaxerxes - - - - - - -	20
Darius Longimanus - - - - - - -	37
Darius Nothus - - - - - - - - -	19
Artaxerxes Mnemon - - - - - - -	55
Artaxerxes Ochus - - - - - - - -	26
Arses, or Arsames - - - - - - -	4
Darius the last, conquered by Alexander	6

To which Philo agreeth; which number of years added, make in all one hundred and ninety-one. But in this catalogue Metasthenes hath left out Cambyses and Xerxes, and names Artaxerxes Assuerus for the immediate successor of Cyrus; in place (saith Melancthon) of Darius the son of

Hystapses: for Metasthenes, as Melancthon conjectureth, doth not account Cambyses in the catalogue, because his reign was confounded with that of Cyrus.

There is a second opinion, though ridiculous, of Sedar Olam, who finds but four Persian kings from the beginning to the end of that empire.

Genebrard, Schubert, and Beroaldus have also a differing account from the Greeks; whom nevertheless Eusebius and most of the Latins follow, and so doth [o] Krentzheim, who hath fully answered, and, as I take it, refuted all the former authors varying from that account. For in this sort do the Greeks marshal the Persian kings with the times of their reigns.

Cyrus in all	30[p] years.
Cambyses with the Magi	8
Darius Hystaspes	36
Xerxes	21[q]
Artaxerxes Longimanus	40
Darius Nothus	19
Artaxerxes Mnemon	43[r]
Artaxerxes Ochus	23[s]
Arsames	3
Darius the last	6[t]

Which numbers put together, make in all two hundred and thirty.

This account (as I have said) the most chronologers and the best learned approve; these Persian princes being all warranted by the authority of the scriptures, as Peucer in his historical animadversions hath gathered the places; finding first Cyrus in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23. Ezra i. 1. and often elsewhere.

Secondly, Cambyses in the eleventh of Daniel, who may indeed be well esteemed for one of those three kings in the second verse named, and so the marginal commentor upon the Geneva understands that place; but, under correction,

[o] Chron. Kren. fol. 135.
[p] Melanct. gives Cyrus but 22.
[q] Melanct. but 20.
[r] Melanct. but 40.
[s] Melanct. 26.
[t] Melanct. 4.

mistakes the matter greatly, when he saith in the same note, that Darius Hystaspes was an enemy to the people of God, and stood against them: his great favour and liberality to the Jews being elsewhere proved.

Thirdly, Is Darius Hystaspes found in Ezra iv. 5. who in the sixth verse is also named Ahassuerus?

Fourthly, In the eleventh of Daniel, verse the second, Xerxes is plainly foretold and described, and the great war which he should make against the Greeks by Daniel remembered.

Fifthly, Artaxerxes Longimanus in Ezra iv. 7. who is also called Arthasasta, c. 4. l. 1. Ezra 7, and vii. 7.

Sixthly, Darius Nothus, Ezra iv. 24. and v. 6. Nehem. xii. 22.

Seventhly, Artaxerxes Mnemon in Nehem. ii. 1. who was father to Artaxerxes Ochus and Arsames: for Darius the last, he was of another family, the line of Cyrus the Great ending in Ochus, who descended from Xerxes the son of Atossa, Cyrus's daughter; and the issue male of Cyrus failing with his own sons.

But to proceed, Eusebius, with the Latins, following the Greeks, apply the beginnings and ends of every Persian king with their acts to some certain Olympiad; as, the war of Astyages (Cyrus's maternal grandfather) and Alyattes, (Crœsus's father,) to the forty-ninth Olympiad; the beginning of Cyrus's reign, to the beginning of the fifty-fifth Olympiad; the taking of Sardis by Cyrus, to the fifty-eighth Olympiad; the invasion of Egypt by Cambyses, to the third year of the sixty-third Olympiad; and so of the rest. Which reference, with good agreement between several forms of computation, add the more credit unto both.

Again, this historical demonstration is confirmed by the astronomical computation of Ptolomy[u], who refers the death of Alexander the Great, who died the twelfth of November, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, to the four hundred and twenty-fourth year after Nabonassar. And the era of Nabonassar began on the twenty-sixth of

[u] Almag. l. 3. c. 6.

February; which, conferred with the Olympiad, was in the ninth month of the first year of the eighth Olympiad; so that whether we follow the account of the Olympiads, as do the Greek historians, or that of Nabonassar with Ptolomy, we shall find every memorable accident to fall out right with each computation.

For Ptolomy reckons the time answerable to two hundred and twenty-four Julian years, and an hundred and forty days from Nabonassar to the sixteenth of July, in the seventh year of Cambyses.

The Greeks, and namely Diodorus Siculus, place the taking of Egypt by Cambyses in the second or third year of the sixty-third Olympiad, and the beginning of Cambyses' seventh year in the first of the sixty-fourth Olympiad: which first of the sixty-fourth Olympiad runs along with part of the twenty-second of Nabonassar. The like agreement is consequently found about the beginning and end of Cyrus.

Likewise the twentieth of Darius, who succeeded Cambyses, is according to Ptolomy the two hundred and forty-sixth of Nabonassar, which (observing the differences of Nabonassar's era and the Olympiad, viz. twenty-eight years) it agrees with the third of the sixty-ninth Olympiad, wherein it is placed by the Greeks. In this Josephus agrees with the Greeks throughout, saving that he joineth Darius Medus, whom Xenophon calleth Cyaxares, with Cyrus in the destruction of Babylon; which is true, and not contrary to the Greek computation, but may very well stand with it.

Lastly, The disagreements and confused accounts of those that follow the other catalogue of the Persian kings formerly rehearsed, doth give the greater credit to this of the Greeks, which being constant in itself, accordeth also with the computation of other historians and astronomers, and likewise with the holy scriptures.

SECT. II.

Of Cambyses, and the conquering of Egypt by him.

WE will therefore, according to the truth, give the em-

pire of Persia to Cambyses the son of Cyrus, though degenerate in all things, saving the desire to increase the greatness of his empire, whereof he was possessed in his father's time, while Cyrus made war in the north. Ctesias with others give him a longer reign than agreeth with the Grecian account before received.

In the fifth year of his sole reign, and in the third year of the threescore and third Olympiad, according to [x] Diodore and Eusebius, he invaded Egypt, and having overthrown the king thereof, Psammenitus, he not only caused him to be slain, but also did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the most of his children.

Herodotus and Ctesias give for cause of this war, (being no other indeed than the ambition of Cambyses,) that when he sent to Amasis king of Egypt, to have his daughter in marriage, Amasis presented him with Nitetis the daughter of Apries, his predecessor, which Cambyses disdained.

Howsoever it were, true it is that Cambyses gathered an army fit for such an enterprise, and caused the same to march. But before they entered Egypt Amasis died, and left Psammenitus, whom Ctesias called Amyrteus, his successor, who enjoyed Egypt after his father (according to the best copies of Herodotus) but six months, though other chronologers give him six years.

But how long soever he held the crown, in one battle he lost it, and was himself taken prisoner.

It is said that Cambyses, following therein the example of Cyrus, did not only spare life to the conquered king, but that he also trusted him with the government of Egypt; and that upon some revolt, or the suspicion thereof, he caused him to be slaughtered.

But the race of this king was not so extirpated, if we may believe Herodotus and Thucydides, but that he left a son called Inarus, who caused the Egyptian to revolt both from Xerxes and Artaxerxes.

That Psammenitus was at the first entreated gently by Cambyses, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is

[x] Lib. 2. c. 2. Her. l. 3. p. 83, 84, 85.

also written of him, that he so much hated Amasis the king of Egypt, who died before his arrival, that he caused his body to be drawn out of the grave, and after divers indignities used, commanded the same to be burnt, contrary to the custom both of the Egyptians and Persians. For the Egyptians used to powder their dead bodies with salt and other drugs, to the end the worms might not devour them. The y Persians durst not consume them with fire, which they esteemed as a god, and therefore feared to feed it with carrion.

SECT. III.

The rest of Cambyses his acts.

AFTER this victory obtained in Egypt, Cambyses sent an army into Cyprus, and constrained Evelthon king thereof to acknowledge him who before held that island of the Egyptians.

While Cambyses yet busied himself in Egypt, he so much detested the idolatry of that nation, as he caused the images themselves, with the temples wherein they were worshipped, to be torn down and defaced. That done, he directed a part of his army into Libya, to overturn the temple of Jupiter Ammon; but the Devil, in defence of his oratory, raised such a tempest of sand, wherewith the greatest part of that country is covered, as the Persians were therewith choked and overwhelmed.

Notwithstanding which misadventure, Herodotus and Seneca report, that disdaining to be resisted, he prepared the rest of his army, which himself meant to conduct into those parts, but that finding a beginning of those incommodities which his first-sent troop had tried, he changed his purpose. For though conquering kings have power over men, yet the elements do not obey them, according to that old English proverb; *Go, saith the king; Stay, saith the tide.*

After his return from the attempt of Ethiopia, he caused

y Neither did the Romans ever consume their dead to ashes, till the time of Sylla dictator, who caused his own to be devoured by that element, fearing the law called Talionis, or *like for like*, because himself had untombed the carcass of Caius Marius after his death. Her. l. 3. Plin. l. 7. c. 54. Stra. and Just. l. 1. p. 87, 88. Her. l. 3. Sen. l. 7.

Apis, the Egyptian bull, worshipped by that nation as God, to be slain; a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeal, and been executed as in service of Him that only is, and liveth. But soon afterwards, when in a dream it seemed unto him that Smerdis did sit in the royal throne of Persia, (which apparition was verified in Smerdis the Magus,) he gave it in charge to his favourite Praxaspes, to murder Smerdis his brother. And having married his own sisters, contrary to the Persian laws, he committed a most causeless and most detestable murder upon the one of them called Meroe, then by himself with child, because she bewailed the death of her brother Smerdis. I find it [z] written of this Cambyses, that because his predecessors observed religiously the ordinances of their empire, he assembled his judges, and inquired of them, whether there were any law among the Persians that did permit the brother to marry his own sister, it being his own intent so to do: the judges (who had always either laws or distinctions in store to satisfy kings and times) made answer, That there was not any thing written allowing any such conjunction, but they notwithstanding found it in their customs, that it was always left to the will of the Persian kings to do what best pleased themselves, and so, as Nauclerus terms it, *invenerunt occasionem*; that is as much to say, as the judges found a shift to please the king, and secure themselves. And yet, where it concerned not the king's private satisfaction, he caused Sisamnus, one of his judges, and perchance one of those which favoured his incestuous match, to be flayed alive for an unjust judgment given, and the same his hide to be hung up over the judgment-seat. After which, bestowing the father's office on his son, he willed him to remember that the same partiality deserved the same punishment.

Among other his cruelties, that which he exercised against the son of his beloved Praxaspes was very strange and ungrateful. For when he desired to be truly informed by him what the Persians thought of his conditions, Praxaspes an-

[z] Her. p. 89, 90.

swered, That his virtues were followed with abundant praise from all men; only it was by many observed, that he took more than usual delight in the taste of wine. With which taxation inflamed, he used this replication: And are the Persians double-tongued, who also tell me, that I have in all things excelled my father Cyrus? Thou, Praxaspes, shalt then witness, whether in this report they have done me right; for if at the first shot I pierce thy son's heart with an arrow, then is it false that hath been spoken; but if I miss the mark, I am then pleased that the same be accounted true, and my subjects believed. This being spoken, he directed an arrow towards the innocent child, who falling dead with the stroke, Cambyses commanded his body to be opened; and his heart being broached on the arrow, this monstrous tyrant, greatly rejoicing, shewed it to the father, with this saying instead of an epitaph: "Now, Praxaspes, thou mayest "resolve thyself that I have not lost my wits with wine, "but the Persians theirs, who make such report."

Many other barbarous cruelties he exercised, till at the last, according to the phrase of our law, he became *felon de soy*. For when he was informed that Patizithes and Smerdis the magi, (Cedrenus writeth them Sphendanes and Cimerdius,) ministers of his domestical affairs, taking advantage of the great resemblance between Smerdis the king's brother and Smerdis the magus, possessed themselves of the empire, he made all haste towards Persia; and in mounting hastily on horseback, his sword dissheathing pierced his own thigh, wherewith deadly wounded, falling into an overlate and remediless repentance of the slaughter which he had executed upon his own brother, he soon after gave up his wicked ghost, when he had reigned eight years, accounting therein those seven months in which the magi governed while he was absent.

In Cambyses the male line of Cyrus failed. For he had no issue either by Atossa or Meroe; yet [a] Zonaras out of Jerome gives him a daughter called Pantaptes, and a son called Orontes; who being drowned in the river Ophites by

[a] Zon. Com. 2. p. 117.

Antioch, the same was afterwards, in memory of the prince's death, called Orontes.

He built the city of Babylon in Egypt, in the place where Latopolis was formerly seated, and that of Meroe in the island of Nilus, calling it by the name of his sister Meroe.

SECT. IV.

Of the interregnum between Cambyses and Darius.

CYRUS and his two sons being now dead, and the kingdom in the possession of one of the magi, the counterfeit of Smerdis, the princes, or satrapas, or provincial governors of the empire, (to wit, Otanes, Intaphernes, Gobrias, Megabysus, Aspathines, Hidarnes, and Darius, who were all descended from Achemenes the first Persian king,) having discovered the fraud of this imposture, joined their forces together, surprised and rooted out the conspirator with his companions and assistants. In which action (saith Justin) Intaphernes and Aspathines were slain; but Herodotus otherwise, that they were only wounded; for he avoweth that all the seven princes were present at the election following.

For the empire being now without a governor, these princes grew into consultation how the same might be ordered from thenceforth. Otanes (one of the seven) did not fancy any election of kings, but that the nobility and cities should confederate, and by just laws defend their liberty in equality, giving divers reasons for his opinion, being, as it seemed, greatly terrified by the cruelties of Cambyses; as first, that it was not safe to give all power to any one, seeing greatness itself, even in good men, doth often infect the mind with many vices, and that liberty and freedom in all things is most apt to insult, and to commit all manner of wicked outrage. Again, that tyrants do commonly use the services of wicked men, and favour them most; they usurp upon the laws of their country, take other men's wives by force, and destroy whom they please without judgment.

Megabysus was of another opinion, affirming that the tyranny of a multitude was thrice more intolerable than that

of one. For the multitude do all things without judgment, run into business and affairs with precipitation, like raging and overbearing floods.

He therefore thought it safest to make election of a few, and those of the best, wisest, and most virtuous, because it is ever found that excellent counsels are ever had from excellent men.

Darius gave the third judgment, who persuaded the creation of a king, because even among few diuturnity of concord is seldom found, and in great empires it doth ever happen, that the discord of many rulers hath enforced the election of one supreme. It were therefore, saith Darius, far safer to observe the laws of our country, by which kingly government hath been ordained.

The other four princes adhered to Darius, and agreed to continue the same imperial government by God established and made prosperous. And to avoid partiality, it was accorded that the morning following these seven princes should mount on horseback, and on him the kingdom should be conferred, whose horse, after the sun rising, should first neigh or bray. [b] In the evening after this appointment was made, it is said that Darius consulted with the master of his horse, Œbares, who, in the suburbs of the city, when the election was resolved of, caused the same horse, whereon in the morning Darius was mounted, to cover a mare, who, as soon as he came into the same place, was the first horse that brayed. Whereupon the other six princes descended from their horses, and acknowledged Darius for their lord and king.

Plato, in the third of his laws, affirmeth, that in memory of the seven princes, whereof Darius himself was one, that delivered the empire from the usurpation of the magi, he divided the whole into seven governments; Herodotus saith into twenty satrapies.

[b] Her. l. 3. p. 100, 101.

CHAP. V.

Of Darius the son of Hystaspes.

SECT. I.

Of Darius's lineage.

DARIUS was descended of the ancient Persian kings, to wit, of the Achæmenidæ, of which Cyrus the Great was the lineal successor. For in this sort Herodotus deriveth him, as before:

Cyrus the first, who had
Theispius, who begat
Ariaramnes, who was father of
Arsamnes, the father of
Hystaspes, the father of
Darius, surnamed Celes, the father of Xerxes.

[c] Hystaspes accompanied Cyrus the Great in the wars against the Scythians; at which time Cyrus being made jealous of Darius by a dream of his own, caused him to be sent into Persia; others say to be imprisoned, from whence by the death of Cyrus he was delivered, and made governor of the Persian magi. He afterwards followed Cambyses into Egypt; he then joined with the rest of the princes against the magi, and either by the [d] neighing of his horse, or, as others affirm, by strong hand, he obtained the empire, which he the more assured to himself by taking two of Cyrus's daughters, and as many of his nieces, for his wives.

Hystaspes, according to [c] Herodotus, had, besides Darius, these three sons, who were great commanders in the war which Darius made in Asia the Less, Thrace, Macedon, and Greece; Atarnes, Artaphernes, and Artabanus, who dissuaded Xerxes from the second Grecian war. Hystaspes had also a daughter married to Gobryas, the father of Mardonius, who commanded the army of Darius in Macedon, and married the daughter of Darius, Artosostre, his cousin-german.

[c] Curt. l. 4.
[d] Her. l. 1, 3.
[e] Herodot. p. 154, 130, 101, 202, 108, 109. Her. l. 6. p. 180, 186, 190, 179, 200, 204, 213, 285, 286, 214, and 254. De Reg. Persar. fol. 32.

Reineccius gives to Hystaspes five sons; Darius who succeeded Cambyses, Artabanus, Artaphernes, Otanes, and Atarnes, with two daughters.

SECT. II.

Of Darius's government, and suppressing the rebellion of Babylon.

DARIUS devised equal laws whereby all his subjects might be governed, the same being formerly promised by Cyrus. He gave access to all his subjects, and behaved himself so mildly to all men, that many nations desired and offered themselves to become his vassals; only he laid divers payments and taxes on the people, which had not been accustomed in Cyrus's time, to the value of fourteen thousand five hundred and threescore talents, saith Herodotus.

The war which Cambyses made afar off in Egypt, and the contention between the magi and the princes of Persia for the empire, gave heart to the Babylonians to recover their liberty, and to shake off the Persian yoke; whereof Darius being advertised, he prepared an army to recover that city and state revolted. But finding the same a difficult work, he used the service of Zopyrus, who for the love he bare Darius did cut off his own ears and nose, and with other wounds, yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to fly to the Babylonians for succour, to whom he accused the cruelty of Darius; who, for having given him advice to give over the siege of their city, had in this sort dismembered and deformed him; whereupon the Babylonians gave him that credit, as they trusted him with the disposition and commandment of their greatest forces; which when Zopyrus had obtained, after some small colourable overthrows given to the Persians upon sallies, he [f] delivered the city into Darius's hands, who had lain before it twenty months.

SECT. III.

Of Darius's favour to the Jews in building the temple.

IN the second year of Darius, he gave order that the building of the temple at Jerusalem should go on, and com-

[f] Her. l. 3.

manded that the same should be finished at his own charge, and out of the revenues of the crown. And whereas the governors of those provinces, which are situate between Euphrates and the Phœnician and midland sea, (whom [g] Ezra calleth the captains beyond the river,) had hindered the work in Cambyses' time, Darius gave commandment, that they should not thenceforth come near unto Jerusalem, to give any impediment to the building, but that they should withdraw themselves, and get them far off, till all were finished and at an end. In the old Latin it is written, *Procul recedite ab illis*; "Withdraw yourselves far from "them;" in our English, "Be ye far from thence;" to wit, from the city and temple now in building.

He also made a decree which concerned his own subjects, that [h] *whosoever should thenceforth hinder the setting up of the temple of God, that his house should be torn down, and the disturber hanged on the gallows made of the timber thereof.* He also in the same decree maketh invocation to God, [i] *that hath caused his name to dwell there, [to] destroy all kings and people, that put to their hands to alter and to destroy this house of God which is in Jerusalem,* &c. In four years after which decree (the Jews being really furnished with money and all things necessary from Darius) the temple was in all finished, to wit, in the beginning of the spring, in the sixth year of Darius Hystaspes, and in the two and fortieth after their first return.

SECT. IV.

Of Darius's Scythian war.

AFTER the recovery of Babylon he invaded the Scythians, whose king [k] Justin calleth Lauthinus, and saith, that Darius undertook this war against him, because he refused him his daughter in marriage. The better to convoy his army into Scythia, he built a bridge of small vessels over the river Ister, or Danubius, and gave the custody of the same in charge (among others of Asia the Less) to the Ionians and Æolians, among whom was Miltiades, who per-

[g] Ezra vi. [h] Ibid. vi. 11. [i] Ibid. vi. 12. [k] Her. l. 4. Just. l. 2.

suaded the Asian Grecians to break down the bridge, to the end Darius might not return thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficulty; but the same was resisted by Histiæus prince of Milet, a city of Ionia, which nation, being a colony of the Greeks, [1] Diodorus calleth traitors to their country, because they joined themselves to Darius. But the Scythians more elegantly termed them good slaves, forasmuch as they would not run away from their master, but were more mindful of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondage, when they were presented with as fair an occasion of liberty as could have been desired. For the great army of Darius, entering the desert country called Bessarabia, found in it neither people to resist them, nor any sustenance to relieve them. For the Scythians were then, as are the Chrim Tartars, their posterity, at this day, all horsemen, using the bow and sword; they were not ploughmen, but graziers, driving their herds from one place to another, as opportunity of pasture led them. Standing towns they had none, but used for houses the waggons wherein they carried their wives and children. These waggons they place at every station in very good order, making streets and lanes in the manner of a great town, removable at their pleasure. Neither hath the emperor himself, called now the great Chrim, any other city than such an *agora*, (as they name it,) or town of carts. When as therefore Darius had wearied himself, and wasted his provision in those desolate regions, wherein he found neither ways to direct him, victuals to refresh him, nor any houses, fruitful trees, or living creatures, nor any thing at all, which either he himself might make use of, or by destroying it might grieve his enemies, he began to perceive his own folly, and the danger into which it had brought him. Yet, setting a good face upon a bad game, he sent brave messages to the Scythian, bidding him to cease his flight, and either to make trial of his valour and fortune in plain battle; or, if he acknowledged himself the weaker, then to yield by fair means, and become his subject, giving

[1] Diod. l. 11.

him earth and water, which the Persians used to demand as a sign that all was yielded unto them. To this challenge the Scythian returned an hieroglyphical answer, sending a bird, a frog, a mouse, and five arrows; which dumb show Darius interpreting by his own wish, thought that he did yield all the elements wherein those creatures live, and his weapons withal into his hands. But Gobryas, one of the seven princes who had slain the magi, construed their meaning aright, which was thus; "O ye Persians, get ye "wings like birds, or dive under the water, or creep into "holes in the earth, for else ye shall not escape our arrows." And this interpretation was soon verified by the Scythians themselves, who assailed the Persian camp, drave the horsemen into the trenches, and vexing the army with continual alarums day and night, were so fearless of this great monarch, and so little regarded him, that within his hearing, and even in his sight, they did not forbear the pastime of coursing a hare which they had started by chance. By this boldness of theirs Darius was so discouraged, that he forsook his camp by night, making many fires, and leaving all that were sick and weak behind him, and so with all speed marched away towards the river Ister. He was pursued hardly by the Scythians, who missed him; yet arriving at the bridge before him, persuaded the Ionians to depart, assuring them that the Persian king should never more be able to do them either good or harm. Which words had certainly been proved true, had not Histiæus the Milesian prevailed with his people to attend the coming of Darius, whom the Scythians did likewise fail to meet, when they returned from Ister to seek him out.

SECT. V.

Some actions of the Persians in Europe after the Scythian war.

DARIUS having thus escaped out of Scythia, determined the invasion of Thrace and Macedon, in which war he employed Megabasus, who mastered the Pæonians and transplanted them, and possessed Perinthus, Chalcedon, Byzantium, and other places, being also soon after subjected

and added to the Persian empire by Otanes the son of Sysamnes, whom Cambyses had excoriated for false judgment [m]. So were the cities of [n] Selybria and [o] Cardia likewise taken in for the Persian, who, having now reduced under his obeisance the best part of Thrace, did send his ambassadors to Amyntas king of Macedon adjoining, demanding of him by the earth and water the sovereignty over that kingdom. Amyntas, doubting his own strength, entertained the ambassadors with gentle words; and afterwards inviting them to a solemn and magnificent feast, the Persians greatly desired that the Macedonian ladies might be present; which being granted, the ambassadors, who were well filled with wine, and presumed upon their greatness and many victories, began to use such embracings and other lascivious behaviour towards those noble ladies, as Alexander the king's son, great grandfather to Alexander the Great, disdaining the Persians' barbarous presumption, besought his father to withdraw himself from the assembly, continuing notwithstanding all honourable respect towards the ambassadors, whom withal he entreated that the ladies might refresh themselves for a while, promising their speedy return. This being obtained, Alexander caused the like number of well-favoured young men to clothe themselves in the same garments, and to use the same attires which the ladies had worn at the feast, giving them in charge, that when the Persians offered to abuse them they should forthwith transpierce them with their long knives, of which they were provided for that purpose, which was accordingly performed. Charge was soon after given by Darius for a severe revenge of this murder; but Alexander somewhat before the death of Amyntas gave his sister Gygea in marriage to Bubaris, a principal commander of Darius's forces on that side, who persuading her husband how helpful the alliance of Macedon would prove for the invasion of Attica intended, so prevailed, as Alexander escaped that tempest which threat-

[m] Her. l. 5.

[n] A maritimate city of Thrace, to the south of Constantinople.

[o] Cardia, a city upon the Chersonesus of Thrace, afterwards Lysimachia. *Pto. Paus.*

ened to fall upon him very suddenly; the war of Asia the Less, called Ionic, falling out at the same time.

SECT. VI.

The first occasion of the war which Darius made upon Greece, with a rehearsal of the government in Athens, whence the quarrel grew.

NOW the better to understand the reason and motives of that great war which followed soon after, between the Persians and Grecians, it is necessary to make a short repetition of the state of Athens, which city endured the hardest and worst brunt of Darius's invasion on that side the sea with admirable success. Neither do I hold it any impertinency to be large in unfolding every circumstance of so great a business as gave fire to those wars which never could be throughly quenched, until in the ruin of this great Persian monarchy, Persepolis, the capital city of the empire, was at the request of an Athenian harlot consumed with a flame as dreadful as, in the pride of their greatness, the Persians had raised in Athens.

Now therefore, as out of the former books it may be gathered how Athens and other parts of Greece were anciently governed, the same being already set down, though scatteringly, and in several times among other the contemporary occurrents of the eastern emperors and the kings of Judæa; so I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember again the two last changes in the state of Athens. As for the Lacedæmonians, they maintained still their ancient policy under kings, though these also after some fifteen descents were bridled by the ephori.

Codrus king of the Athenians, in the former books remembered, who willingly died for the safety of his people, was therefore so honoured by them, as (thinking none worthy to succeed him) they changed their former government from monarchical to princes for term of life, of which Medon the son of Codrus was the first, after whom they were called Medontidæ; and of these there were twelve generations besides Medon; to wit,

Agastus,

Archippus, in whose times the Greeks transported themselves into Ionia, after Troy an hundred and fourscore years, according to Eusebius; which migration all other chronologers (such as follow Eusebius herein excepted) find in the year after Troy fallen one hundred and forty.

Thersippus.

Phorbas.

Mezades.

Diogenetus, in whose time Lycurgus gave laws to the Spartans.

Pheredus.

Ariphron.

Theispius, in whose time the Assyrian empire was overthrown by Belochus and Arbaces.

Agamnestor.

Æschylus, in whose time the ephori (according to Eusebius) were erected in Lacedæmon.

Alcamenon, the last prince for life, after whose death the Athenians elected decennal governors: the former princes for life having continued in all three hundred and sixteen years. The first of those that governed for ten years, or the first archon, was

Charops, then

Æsymedes.

Elydicus.

Hippomenes.

Leocrates.

Absander.

Erixias was the last archon of the decennal governors, which form continuing threescore and ten years, was then changed into annual magistrates, mayors, or burgh-masters, of which Theseus was the first, according to [o] Pausanias; others find Leostratus; and then

Anthosthenes.

[o] Paus. p. 159. Dionys. l. 3. Paus. p. 169. 170. 331.

Archimedes.
Miltiades.
Damasias.
Draco.
Megacles.
Solon, and others, who are the less to be regarded by reason of the yearly change.

This Solon, being a man of excellent wisdom, gave laws to the Athenians, which were published, according to Gellius, in the three and thirtieth year of Tarquinius Priscus, and were in after-ages derived unto the Romans, and by the decemviri (magistrates in Rome created for that purpose) reduced into twelve tables, which were the ground of the Roman laws. But these goodly ordinances of Solon were in his own days violated, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed unto the practice and maintenance of a popular government, the estate of Athens was very soon changed into a monarchy by Pisistratus the son of Hippocrates, who finding the citizens distracted into two factions, whereof Megacles and Lycurgus, two citizens of noble families, were become the heads, took occasion by their contention and insolency to raise a third faction more powerful than the other two, and more plausible, for that he seemed a protector of the citizens in general. Having by this means obtained love and credit, he wounded himself, and feigned that by malice of his enemies he had like to have been slain for his love to the good citizens; he procured a guard for his defence, and with that band of men surprising the state-house, or citadel of Athens, he made himself lord of the town, Hegesistratus being then governor. But the citizens, who in every change of government had sought to remove themselves further and further from the form of a monarchy, could so ill brook this usurpation of Pisistratus, that he was driven, for lack of help, to fly the town, as soon as Megacles and Lycurgus (joining their forces) attempted his expulsion. Yet, as the building of his tyranny, founded upon the dissension of the citizens,

was ruined by their good agreement, so was it soon after well reedified by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when Megacles found the power of Lycurgus to grow greater than his own, he did (as is the usual practice of the weaker side) call in the common enemy Pisistratus, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage; by which alliance the family of the Alcmæonidæ, whereof Megacles was chief, became very powerful, yet so that Pisistratus by their power was made master both of them and all the rest. But this agreement held not long; the Alcmæonidæ, and especially Megacles, being incensed against Pisistratus for his misdemeanor towards his wife: wherefore they practised with the soldiers of the town, proceeding in their treason so secretly and so far, that Pisistratus (upon the first discovery of their intent) perceived no other remedy for his affairs, than to withdraw himself to [p] Eretria, where he remained eleven years: which time being expired, having hired soldiers out of many parts of Greece, he again recovered the principality of Athens; after which third obtaining his estate, he governed Athens seventeen years, according to Aristotle, and reigned in all thirty and three years, saith Elianus, but, as Justin hath it, four and thirty; accounting the time belike as well before as after his several expulsions. Herodotus gives the father and the son six and thirty years, Aristotle five and thirty. But Thucydides affirmeth that he died very old, leaving for his successors his two sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, who governed the Athenians with such moderation, as they rather seemed the lineal successors of a natural prince than of a tyrant. But in the end, and some three years before Hippias was expelled out of Athens, his brother Hipparchus was murdered by Harmodius and Aristogiton. The cause why, and the manner how performed, Thucydides hath written at large. And though Hipparchus were charged with unnatural lust after Harmodius, yet Plato, in his dialogue entitled Hipparchus, doth greatly

[p] Her. l. 12. Eretria, a city of Eubœa, by others called Melane, by Stephanus Erotria. Pol. 5. Heraclid. apud Elian. p. 262. Just. p. 28. Her. l. 6. Thuc. l. 6. c. 10.

magnify him, affirming that he was a prince of as many eminent virtues as that age had any, altogether condemning the murderers and authors of that scandal. Hippias fearing that this enterprise upon his brother had more and deeper roots than were apparent, first sought to discover the further intents of Harmodius and Aristogiton by a harlot of theirs called Lemnia; who, because she would not reveal her companions, did cut out her own tongue. Then did Hippias, the better to strengthen himself, enter into a strait amity with Æantides, tyrant of the city [q] Lampsacus, whom he knew to be greatly favoured by Darius, to whose son Hypoclus he gave one of his daughters in marriage. But some three years after the death of his brother, doubting I know not what strong practice against himself, he began to use the citizens with great severity, which neither Pisistratus the father nor Hippias himself had ever exercised during their usurpations till this time. And therefore the Athenians, fearing lest that this disease might rather increase than diminish in Hippias, they stirred up Clistines, one of the noblest and best able of their city, to practise their delivery; who, calling to his assistance the banished Alcmæonidæ, together with an army of the Lacedæmonians, led by Cleomenes their king, so affrighted Hippias, as by composition he gave over his estate, and the possession of Athens, and from thence embarking himself took land at [r] Sigeum, whence he went to Lampsacus in Mysia, governed by Æantides, who presented him to Darius. He was deprived of his estate, as Herodotus and Thucydides agree, twenty years before the battle of Marathon; all which time he continued, partly with Æantides, at other times with Artaphernes, lieutenant for Darius in Sardis, the metropolis of Lydia; persuading and practising the enterprise upon Athens, which Darius, in the end to his great dishonour, undertook twenty years after Hippias had resigned his estate.

Thus far I have digressed from Darius, to the end the

[q] Lampsacus, a city of Mysia, upon the Hellespont. Herod. l. 5. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 10.

[r] Sigeum, a promontory opposite to the isle of Tenedos, which Arist. in 5. Animal. calls *Idæ promontorium*.

reader may conceive the better the causes and motives of this war; whereof the hope that Hippias had to be restored to Athens by the help of Darius, which made him solicit and persuade the Persians to conquer Greece, was one, but not the most urgent.

SECT. VII.

Of the Ionian rebellion, which was the principal cause of the wars ensuing between Greece and Persia.

ANOTHER and a strong motive to this expedition was the Ionic war breaking out in Asia about the same time. The colonies transported out of Greece into Asia, which occupied the greatest part of the sea-coast, having enjoyed their liberty about five hundred years, even from the Ionic migration to the time of Crœsus, were by this Lydian king made tributaries, and afterwards, as parcel of his dominions, were taken in by Cyrus, and left as hereditary servants to the crown of Persia.

But as it is the custom of all nations half-conquered (witness Ireland) to rebel again upon every advantage and opportunity, so did the Ionians and other Grecians, both in Cyrus's life and after him, seek by all means possible to free themselves.

At this time they found such men ready to spur them into rebellion, as had by the Persian been given unto them for bridles to hold them in subjection. Every one of those towns had a lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the government of one man) called their tyrants. These lords were very true to the Persian, by whose only might they held the people in subjection. And this their dutiful affection they had well declared, when, Darius being in great extremity, they used all means to deliver him and his army (that otherwise had been lost) out of the Scythians hand. Of this great piece of service Histiæus, the tyrant of Miletus, expected the chief thanks, as having been chief author of their expecting Darius, when the rest, either persuaded by the Scythians, or carried away with their own desires, were ready to have abandoned him. But it came so to pass, that Darius being more fearful of the harm that His-

tiæus (being powerful and crafty) might do to him in the future, than mindful of the good which he had already received at his hand, found means to carry him along to Susa, where he detained him with all kind usage of a friend, yet kept such good espial upon him, as an enemy, that he could not start away. Histiæus had subtilty enough to discover the king's purpose, which ill agreed with his own desires: for he thought it more pleasant and more honourable to rule as prince in one fair city, having a small territory, than to sit and feast at the great king's table, and hear the counsels by which a large empire was managed; being himself an idle beholder, and enjoying, with much restraint of liberty, none other pleasures than a private man might bestow upon himself.

Wherefore he bethought himself of raising of some tumults in the Lower Asia, to pacify which if he might be sent, as one that had great experience and authority in those quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to stay at home, and either satisfy the king with excuses, or deal as occasion should require. Resolving upon this course, he sent very secret instructions to Aristagoras his kinsman, whom he had left his deputy at Miletus, advising him to stir up some rebellion. These directions came seasonably to Aristagoras, who having failed in an enterprise upon the isle of Naxos, through the false dealing of a Persian, his associate, stood in fear of disgrace, if not of some further ill that might befall him, as one that had wasted the king's treasures to no good purpose.

Therefore he readily embraced the counsel: and the better to draw the whole country of Ionia into the same course which he determined to run, he abandoned his tyranny, and set Miletus at liberty. This plausible beginning won unto him the hearts of the Milesians; and his proceeding with other Ionian tyrants (of whom, some he took and sold as slaves to their citizens, others he chased away) caused the whole nation to be at his command. The Persian fleet, whereof he lately had been admiral in the enterprise of Naxos, he had surprised in his first breaking out,

together with the principal officers and captains; so that now he thought himself able to deal with the great king's forces, lying thereabout, either by land or sea. But likely it was, that the power of all Asia would shortly be upon his neck, and crush both him and his assistants to pieces, unless that he were able to raise an army that might hold the field, which the Ionians alone were insufficient to perform. Therefore he took a journey to Sparta, where having assayed in vain with many arguments, and the offer of fifty talents, to win to his party Cleomenes, king of the Lacedæmonians; he went from thence to Athens, and with better success besought the people to lend him their assistance. The Athenian ambassadors, which had been sent to the Persian king's lieutenants in the Lower Asia, desiring them not to give countenance to Hippias, now a banished man, and lately their tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill answers, having found very churlish entertainment. So that the evil which they were to expect in all likelihood from the Persian made them willing to begin with him. To which purpose, their consanguinity with the Ionians, and the persuasions of Aristagoras, drew them on apace, if perhaps his treasure were not helping. Twenty ships the Athenians furnished for this voyage; to which the Eretrians added five more, in regard of the ancient kindness that had passed between the Ionians and them. With these and their own forces joined, the Ionians entered the river Caistrus, which falleth into the sea by Ephesus; by which advantage they surprised Sardis, when no enemy was heard of or suspected; insomuch as Artaphernes, who ruled as viceroy in those parts, had no other hope of safety, than by retreating himself into the castle, which the Grecians could not force; from whence he beheld the slaughter of the citizens, and the city flaming.

The Persians at length, mixed with the burghers, began to encourage them to defence, and recovered the market-place, strengthened by the river Pactolus, which ran through it; and borrowing courage from desperation, they both defended themselves and charged their enemies;

who well advising themselves, made all the haste they could towards the sea-side. But Artaphernes, having gathered all the strength he could, pursued the Grecians, and found them near Ephesus; where setting resolvedly upon them, he slaughtered a great part of their army, the rest saving themselves in Ephesus. In this fight Eualcides, captain of the Eretrians, perished; but his fame and memory was by that excellent poet Simonides preserved. After this overthrow, the Athenians, which were sent to Aristagoras, and to the Ionians, could by no arguments of theirs, no not by their tears, be persuaded to make any second trial of their fortunes on that side the sea.

Yet the burning of Sardis made a greater noise in the world, than the good success, which the Persians had in one or two skirmishes, could raise. Wherefore the Ionians, bravely proceeding, won a great part of Caria; and sending their fleet into the Hellespont, got Byzantium and other towns into their hands. Yea, the Cyprians, lately subdued by Cambyses, began hereupon to take heart; and entering into confederacy with the Ionians, who were able to give them aid by sea, rebelled against the Persians.

These news coming to the ear of Darius, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreme hatred of the Athenians, upon whom he vowed to take sharp revenge. As for the Ionians, his contempt of them, and their knowledge of his power, made him to think, that they would not have dared to attempt such things, but by the instigation of those to whom their ignorance of his great might had afforded the courage to provoke him. This was the main ground of the war commenced by Darius, and pursued by Xerxes, against Athens; to which the solicitation of Hippias, before remembered, gave only some form and assistance; the business, when once it was thus far on foot, being like enough to have proceeded, though he had perished ere it were advanced any further.

Some other occurrents in this Ionian commotion extended the quarrel of Darius against many of the islanders, if not against the whole nation of the Greeks; for all of

them gave to his rebels free harbour; the islanders moreover did help to furnish out a navy of three hundred and sixty sail against him. These provocations did rather breed in him a desire to abate their pride, than any fear of harm that they were like to do him. For what they had done at Sardis was but by surprise. In every fight they were beaten by the Persians, who had not yet lost the fruits of their discipline wherein Cyrus had trained them, nor all their ancient captains. In one sea-fight by the isle of Cyprus, the Ionians indeed had the upper hand; but they were Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Cilicians, whom they vanquished; neither was that victory of any use to them, the Cyprians, in whose aid they came, being utterly beaten by the Persian army at land, and reduced into their old subjection. So had the Persians likewise by open war and fair force overthrown the Carians in two battles, and reclaimed that nation; as also they had recovered the towns upon Hellespont, with some Æolian and Ionian cities, when Aristagoras with his friends, quitting Miletus, fled into Thrace, desirous to seat himself in Amphipolis, a colony of the Athenians. But the Edonians, on whose territory belike he landed, overthrew him, and cut his troops in pieces.

About the same time Histiæus, the first mover of this insurrection, came down into those quarters; who having undertaken the performance of great matters to Darius, was glad to fly from his lieutenants, by whom his double-dealing was detected.

But this evasion preserved him not long. For after many vain attempts that he made, he was taken in fight by the Persians, and hastily beheaded, lest the king should pardon him upon remembrance of old good turns; as it seems that he would have done by the burial which he commanded to be given to his dead body that was crucified, and by his heavy taking of his death.

Histiæus had sought to put himself into Miletus; but the citizens, doubting his condition, chose rather to keep him out, and make shift for themselves without his help. The strength of their city by land, which had in old time

withstood the Lydian kings, and their good fleet, which promised unto them the liberty of an open sea, emboldened them to try the uttermost, when very few friends were left upon that continent to take their part. But their navy was broken as much by threatenings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forsaking them upon hope of pardon, and many being daunted with the causeless flight of those that should have assisted them. Neither was it long before the town itself, being assaulted both by land and sea, was taken by force, the citizens slain, their wives and children made slaves, and their goods a booty to the Persians, whom for six years space they had put to so much trouble.

SECT. VIII.

The war which Darius made upon Greece, with the battle of Marathon, and Darius's death.

THIS war with good success finished by the Persians, and some attempts made on Europe side with variable success, Darius, obstinate in the enterprise and conquest of Greece, (though at first he pretended to make the war but against the Athenians and Eretrians, who jointly assisted the Ionians against him, and burnt Sardis in Lydia,) did now by his ambassadors demand an acknowledgment from them all; among whom some of them, not so well resolved as the rest, submitted themselves; as the [s] Æginetes and others. Against these the Athenians being inflamed, (by the assistance of the Lacedæmonians,) after divers encounters forced them to give pledges, and to relinquish the party of the Persians. Cleomenes led the Lacedæmonians in this war, and caused his companion, king Demaratus, to be deposed; who thereupon fled to Darius, far the more confident of victory, by reason of these discords, alienations, and civil wars among the Greeks. He therefore gave order to Hippagoras to prepare a fleet of ships fit to transport his

[s] Herod. l. 6. Whether this city or people were of Peloponnesus in Sicyonia, or of Ægæa between Thessalia and Macedon, I do not know; but those borderers, and next the enemy, were more likely to compound than the rest far off. There is also a city called Æginium, not far from Ægea. Liv. 32, 33, &c.

army over the Hellespont; the same consisting of an hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse. The charge in chief of his army he committed to Datis, accompanied and assisted by Hippias the son of Pisistratus, expelled out of Athens twenty years before, and by Artaphernes his brother, governor of Sardis, and the sea-coast of Asia the Less. These commanders, having their companies brought down to the sea-side, embarked themselves in six hundred galleys and other vessels; and first of all attempted the islands called Cyclades, which lay in the midway between Asia the Less and Greece. For (obtaining those places) the Persians had then nothing to hinder the transportation of their forces over the Ægean sea; but on the contrary, they might always both relieve themselves in their passage, and shroud themselves from all sudden tempests and outrage.

To this end they first possessed themselves of Samos; secondly, they attempted Naxos; which island the inhabitants, despairing of their own forces, abandoned. So did the people of Delos, of which Apollo was native; which island Darius did not only forbear to sack, but, recalling the inhabitants, he gave order to beautify the places and altars of sacrifice to Apollo erected. And having recovered these and other islands, the Persians directed their course for Eretria in Eubœa, for [f] that city (as already hath been shewed) had assisted the Ionians at the taking and firing of Sardis. In this island the Persians took ground, and besieged Eretria very straitly; and after six days assault, partly by force, and in part by the treason of Euphabus and Philagius, they took it, sacked it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus far the winds of prosperous fortune filled their sails. From Eubœa the Persians passed their army into Attica, conducted and guided by Hippias, late prince of Athens, and marching towards it, they encamped at Marathon, in the way from the sea, where they landed towards Athens.

The Athenians, finding the time arrived wherein they were to dispute with their own virtue against fortune, and

[f] In Herod.

to cast lots for their liberty, for their wives, their children, and their lives, put themselves in the best order they could to make resistance, and withal sent away with speed to the Lacedæmonians for succour, employing in that negociation one Phidippides; who passing through Arcadia, encountered in the way a familiar devil, which he supposed to be Pan, who willed him to assure the Athenians of victory, promising that some one of the gods should be present at the battle, to assist them, and defend them against the multitude of their enemies. Phidippides, at his return, seeing he could not bring with him any present succours from Sparta, yet he thought it greatly availing to bring news from the gods, and promise of assistance from heaven; which no doubt, though the device was likely to be his own, yet it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages have been more stirred up with fond prophecies, and other like superstitious fooleries, than by any just cause or solid reason.

The Athenians being now left to themselves, with one thousand only of the Platæans, (who having been formerly defended by the Athenians against the Thebans, did in this extremity witness their thankfulness and grateful disposition,) began to dispute, whether it were most for their advantage to defend the walls of Athens, or to put themselves into the field with such forces as they had, the same consisting of ten thousand Athenians and one thousand of the Platæans. In the end, and after great diversity of opinions, Miltiades, who persuaded the trial by battle, prevailed.

The armies being now in view, and within a mile of each other, the Athenians disposed themselves into three troops; two wings, or horns, as they term them, and the body of a battle. The Persians, when they perceived so small a troop advancing towards them, thought the Athenians rather dispossessed of their understanding, than possessed with the resolution whereof they made show. So invincible and resistless the Persians esteemed their own numbers to be, and that small troop of their enemies then in view rather to be despised than to be fought withal. But in conclusion, the

victory being doubtfully balanced for a while, sometimes the virtue of the Grecians, and sometimes the number of the Persians prevailing, the Grecians fighting for all that they had, the Persians for that they needed not, these great forces of Darius were disordered and put in rout, the Athenians following their victory even to the sea-shore; where the Persians, so many of them as lost not their wits with their courage, saved themselves in their ships.

The Persian army consisted of an hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse; of which there were slain in the place six thousand three hundred, and of the Grecians an hundred fourscore and twelve. For howsoever it came to pass, either by strange visions, which were afterward called *Panici terrores*, or by some other affright, it seemeth that the invading army, after the first encounter, fought with their backs towards their enemy, and lost that number, by Herodotus set down, in their disorderly retreat, or rather in their flat running away. As for Justin's report, that two hundred thousand of the Persian army were slain, the same hath no appearance nor possibility of truth. In this fight Hippias, the persuader of the enterprise, was slain, saith Justin and Cicero; but [n] Suidas tells us that he escaped, and died most miserably in Lemnos.

The greatest honour of this victory was cast upon Miltiades, who both persuaded the trial by battle, and behaved himself therein answerably to the counsel which he gave. Themistocles had his first reputation in this fight, being but young, and of the first beard. Those of the Grecians, of mark and commandment, that fell in the first encounter, were Callimachus and Stesileus. It is also said, that Cynegyrus, following the Persians to their embarking, laid hands on one of their galleys, to have held it from putting off the shore; and having his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arrest it with his left; of which being also deprived, he took hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the first year of the threescore and twelfth Olympiad, about the time of the war made by Coriolanus

[n] Ad Att.

against his fellow Romans; Alexander the son of Amyntas being then king of Macedon, and Phanippus then governor of Athens, according to [x] Plutarch; or Hybilides, after Halicarnasseus.

This great fray thus parted, and the Persians returned back into the Lesser Asia, Miltiades sought and obtained an employment against the islanders of Paros, one of the Cyclades, and passing over his companies in threescore and ten galleys, after six and twenty days assault, he brake his thigh, in seeking to enter it by the temple of Ceres, wherewith himself being made unable, and his companies discouraged, he returned to Athens; where those ungrateful citizens, forgetting all his services past, and that of all other the most renowned at the battle of Marathon, did, by the persuasion of Xantippus, the father of Pericles, (who envied his fame,) cast him into prison, and set on him a fine of fifty talents; where his weak and wounded body being not able to endure the one, nor his estate to pay the other, he after a few days ended his life.

Which envy of the better sort to each other, with their private factions, assisted by the unthankful and witless people, brought them, not many years after, from a victorious and famous nation, to base subjection and slavery. Miltiades left behind him one son called Cimon, begotten on Hegesipila, daughter of Olorus king of Thrace, who (saith Plutarch) was neither inferior to his father in valour, nor to Themistocles in understanding, but exceeded them both in justice and good government.

Now Darius, taking greater care how to recover his honour, than sorrow for the loss received in Greece, gave order for new levies of men, and all other warlike provisions. But the Egyptians revolting from his obedience, (a kingdom of great strength and revenue,) greatly distracted his resolution for the reinvasion of Greece. The dissension also among his sons, of whom the younger being born after he was king, and by so great a mother as Atossa, disdained to give place to his elder brother, born before Darius ob-

[x] In Vita Arist.

tained the empire, greatly vexed him. And lastly, death, who hath no respect of any man's affairs, gave end to all his consultations and enterprises, and joined him to the earth of his ancestors, about a year after the battle of Marathon, and after that he had reigned six and thirty years. He left behind him five sons, namely, Artabasanes, born before he obtained the kingdom; Xerxes, who succeeded him; Achemenes governor of Egypt, Masistes, and Ariabignes.

CHAP. VI.

Of Xerxes.

SECT. I.

The preparation of Xerxes against Greece.

XERXES received from his father, as hereditary, a double war, one to be made against the Egyptians, which he finished so speedily that there is nothing remaining in writing how the same was performed; the other against the Grecians, of which it is hard to judge whether the preparations were more terrible, or the success ridiculous. In the consultation for the prosecution of this war, which was chiefly bent against the Athenians, the princes of Persia were divided in opinion. Mardonius, who had formerly commanded in Thrace and Macedon, under Darius, and had also Hystaspes for his grandfather, as Xerxes had, and married Xerxes's sister Artozostres, persuaded by many arguments the European war. But Artabanus, brother to the late Darius, and uncle to Xerxes, maintained the contrary counsel, laying before Xerxes the lamentable and ridiculous success of the two late invasions which Darius had made contrary to his counsel; the one in person upon the Scythians, the other by his lieutenants upon the Greeks; in each of which Darius left to his enemies both his army and his honour.

He therefore besought Xerxes to be right well advised

before he did too far embark himself in this business. For whatsoever undertaking hath deliberate and sound counsel for conductor, though the success do not always answer the probability, yet hath fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than the variableness of her own nature, which only the divine Providence, and not any human power, can constrain.

But so obstinate was the resolution of Xerxes in prosecution of his former intent, that Artabanus, whether terrified by visions, (as it is written of him,) or fearing the king's hatred, which he made known to all those that opposed his desire to this war, (changing opinion and counsel,) assisted the Grecian expedition with all the power he had.

After the war of Egypt was ended, four years were consumed in describing and gathering an army for this invasion; which being compounded of all nations subject to the Persian empire, consisted of seventeen hundred thousand foot, and eighty thousand horsemen, besides chariots, camels, and other beasts for carriage, if we may believe [y] Herodotus; for of this multitude Trogus finds the number less by seven hundred thousand footmen.

The commanders of the several nations were the princes of the blood of Persia, either by marriage in the king's house or otherwise; for to these were all commandments of this nature given, some few people excepted, who had of their own leaders.

The charge of the whole army was bestowed on Mardonius, the son of Gobryas by a sister of Darius, to whom were joined some others of Xerxes' nearest kindred, as generals over all; saving that the charge of ten thousand select Persians, called the immortal regiment, (because if any one of the whole number died or were slain, there was another presently chosen in his stead,) was given to Hydarnes; the eighty thousand horsemen were led by the sons of Datis, who commanded the late army of Darius in Greece.

The fleet of galleys were two thousand two hundred and eight, furnished by the Phœnicians, who had commanders of their own nation, and by the Cypriots, Cilicians, Pam-

[y] Her. l. 7.

philians, Lycians, Dorians, Carians, Ionians, Æolians, and Hellespontines; who were trusted with the furnishing of their own vessels, though commanded by the princes of Persia, as by Ariabignes the son of Darius, and others. The rest of the vessels for transportation were three thousand. There were also certain galleys furnished by Artemisia the daughter of Lygdamis, princess of Halicarnassus and the islands adjoining, which herself commanded. Those galleys, by her prepared and furnished, exceeded all the rest of the fleet, excepting those of Zidon, in which Xerxes himself was embarked.

SECT. II.

Xerxes' army entertained by Pythius; his cutting off mount Athos from the continent; his bridge of boats over the Hellespont; and the discourse between him and Artabanus upon the view of his army.

WHEN this world of an army was throughly furnished, he caused all the nations, of which it was compounded, to make their rendezvous and repair at Sardis in Lydia. And when he had assembled to the number of seventeen hundred thousand foot, as he entered the body of Celænas, he was by one Pythius a Lydian entertained, who out of his flocks and herds of cattle gave food to Xerxes and his whole army. The feast ended, he also presented him with two thousand talents of silver, and in gold four millions, wanting seven thousand of the Persian *darici*, which make so many of our marks.

The king, overcome with the exceeding liberality of Pythius, did not only refuse his treasure offered, but commanded that seven thousand *darici* should be given him to make up his four millions, of which so many thousands were wanting when he made the present. But soon after, when Pythius besought him to spare one of his five sons from his attendance into Greece, (because himself was old, and had none whom he could so well trust as his own son,) Xerxes most barbarously caused the young man, for whom his father sought exemption, to be sundered into two parts, commanding that the one half of his carcass

should be laid on the right, and the other half on the left hand of the common way by which the army marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the sea-side. The one was a passage for galleys to be cut behind mount Athos, making the same (with the half island or headland whereon it stood) to be an entire island, sundering thereby from the continent of Thrace five cities, besides the mountain and the Chersonesus, or neck of land itself; a work of more ostentation than of use, and yet an enterprise of no great wonder, the valley which held it to the continent having but twelve furlongs (which make about a mile and half) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough only for two galleys to pass in front. The cities so severed from the main, were Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thysus, and Cleonæ.

He also gave order, that a bridge upon boats should be made over the Hellespont between Abydos and Sestos, the sea there having a mile of breadth, wanting an eighth part; which after the finishing was by a tempest torn asunder and dissevered; wherewith Xerxes being more enraged than discouraged, commanded those to be slain that were masters of the work, and caused six hundred threescore and fourteen galleys to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new bridge; which, by the art and industry of the Phœnicians, was so well anchored to resist both winds blowing into and from the Euxine sea, as the same being well boarded and railed, the whole army of seventeen hundred thousand foot, and fourscore thousand horse, with all the moyles and carriages, passed over it into Europe in seven days and seven nights, without intermission. This transportation of armies did Cæsar afterwards use; and Caligula, that mad emperor, in imitation of Xerxes' bridge, did build the like.

The bridge finished, and the army brought near to the sea-side, Xerxes took a view of all his troops, assembled in the plains of Abydos, being carried up and seated on a place overtopping the land round about it, and the sea adjoining; and after he had gloried in his own happiness, to

behold and command so many nations, and so powerful an army and fleet, he suddenly (notwithstanding) burst out into tears, moved with this contemplation, that in one hundred years there should not any one survive of that marvellous multitude; the cause of which sudden change of passion when he uttered to Artabanus his uncle, Artabanus spake to the king to this effect; That which is more lamentable than the dissolution of this great troop within that number of years by the king remembered, is, that the life itself which we enjoy is yet more miserable than the end thereof; for in those few days given us in the world, there is no man among all these, nor elsewhere, that ever found himself so accompanied with happiness, but that he oftentimes pleased himself better with the desire and hope of death, than of living; the incident calamities, diseases, and sorrows whereto mankind is subject being so many and inevitable, that the shortest life doth oftentimes appear unto us over-long; to avoid all which, there is neither refuge nor rest, but in desired death alone.

With this melancholy discourse Xerxes being not much pleased, prayed Artabanus not to overcast those joys which they had now in pursuit with sad remembrances. And holding still a doubtful conceit, that Artabanus utterly condemned the invasion of Greece, against which he had formerly given many strong reasons, desired him to deal freely with him, whether he were returned to his first resolution, that the enterprise of Greece could not be prosperous; or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late vision, he was confident of good success? Artabanus, notwithstanding that he assured himself of the king's resolution to go on, and dared not by any new arguments to batter the great purpose itself, yet he told the king, that there were two things which marvellously affrighted him, and which the king should find, as he feared, to be most adverse; to wit, the sea and the land; the sea, because it had nowhere in that part of the world any port capable of so great a fleet; insomuch, as if any tempest should arise, all the continent of Greece could hardly receive them, nor

all the havens thereof afford them any safety; and therefore when such shelter shall be wanting unto them, he prayed him to understand, that in such a case of extremity men are left to the will and disposition of fortune, and not fortune to the will and disposition of men. The land, besides other incommodities, will be found by so much the more an enemy, by how much the unsatiate desire of man to obtain more and more thereof doth lead him forward; for were there no man found to give resistance, yet the want of means to feed such an army, and the famine which cannot be prevented, will, without any other violence offered, disenable and consume it. By these arguments Artabanus hoped to have diverted Xerxes, not daring perchance to utter what indeed he most feared, to wit, the overthrow of the army itself, both by sea and land, which soon after followed. These cautions were exceeding weighty, if Xerxes' obstinacy had not misprised them. For to invade by sea upon a perilous coast, being neither in possession of any port, nor succoured by any party, may better fit a prince presuming on his fortune, than enriched with understanding. Such was the enterprise of Philip the Second upon England in the year 1588, who had belike never heard of this counsel of Artabanus to Xerxes, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the second point; it is very likely that Xerxes' army, which could not have less in it than two millions of souls, besides his beasts for service and carriage, should after a few days suffer famine, and, using Machiavel's words, *mourire sans cousteo*, "die without a knife." For it was impossible for Greece, being a ragged, strait, and mountainous country, to yield food (besides what served themselves) for twenty hundred thousand strangers, whom they never meant to entertain but with the sharpened points of their weapons, destroying withal whatsoever they could not well enclose and defend. Nay, if we may believe Herodotus, the army of Xerxes, being reviewed at Thermopylæ, consisted of five millions, two hundred eighty-three thousand, two hundred and twenty men, besides laundresses,

harlots, and horses, and was therefore likely to endure a speedy famine.

The effect of Xerxes' answer was, that it was impossible to provide for all things; and that whosoever should enterprise any great matter, if he gave the hearing to all that could be objected of accidental inconveniences, he should never pursue the same further than the dispute and consultation; which if his predecessors, the Persian kings, had done, they had never grown to that greatness, or possessed so many kingdoms and nations as they now did; and therefore concluded, that great enterprises were never undertaken without great perils. Which resolution of Xerxes was not to be condemned, if any necessity had enforced him to that war. But seeing the many nations newly conquered, which he already commanded, were more than could be constrained to obedience any longer than the powerful prosperity of the Persians endured, and that Greece were separated by the sea from the rest of Xerxes' dominions, (of whose resolution his father Darius had made a dear experience,) the fruit of this war was answerable to the plantation, and the success and end agreeable to the weak counsel whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, those millions of men which he transported, and yet in his own judgment not sufficient, (for he gathered, in marching on, all the strength of Thrace and Macedon,) were an argument, that he rather hoped to fear the Greeks by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and resolution whom he conducted. For it is wisely said of those unaccountable multitudes, *Non vires habent, sed pondus, et impedimenta potius sunt quam auxilium;* "They are great in bulk, but "weak in force, and rather a luggage than an aid."

Besides, as it was impossible to marshal such a world of men in one army, so the divers nations, speaking divers languages, bred the same confusion among the Persian commanders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of Babel when they came to work. Whereas, if Xerxes had of his five millions compounded ten armies of fifty thousand chosen soldiers in each, and sent them yearly into

Greece well victualled and furnished, he had either prevailed by the sword, or forced them to forsake their territory, or brought them into obedience by necessity and famine, which cannot be resisted. But while Xerxes resolved to cut down the banks of Greece, and to let in a sea of men upon them, he was deceived both in his own hopes, and in their hearts whom he employed, and beaten by the Greeks both by land and sea; yea, he himself, conducted by his fear, fled shamefully into Asia. A great part of his army was buried in Greece; the remainder whereof, which wintered in Thessaly, and led by Mardonius who persuaded the enterprise, was in the summer following utterly defeated, and himself slain.

SECT. III.

Of the fights at Thermopylæ and Artemisium.

AFTER such time as Xerxes had transported his army over the Hellespont, and landed in Thrace, (leaving the description of his passage along that coast, and how the river of Lissus was drunk dry by his multitudes, and the lake near to Pissyrus by his cattle, with other accidents in his marches towards Greece,) I will speak of the encounters he had, and the shameful and incredible overthrows which he received. As first at Thermopylæ, a narrow passage of half an acre of ground, lying between the mountains which divide Thessaly from Greece, where sometime the Phocians had raised a wall with gates, which was then for the most part ruined. At this entrance Leonidas, one of the kings of Sparta, with three hundred Lacedæmonians, assisted with one thousand Tegeatæ and Mantineans, one thousand Arcadians, and other Peloponnesians, to the number of three thousand one hundred in the whole, besides one thousand Phocians, four hundred Thebans, seven hundred Thespians, and all the forces (such as they were) of the bordering Locrians, defended the passage two whole days together against that huge army of the Persians. The valour of the Greeks appeared so excellent in this defence, that in the first day's fight Xerxes is said to have three times leaped out of his throne, fearing the destruction of his army by one handful

of those men, whom not long before he had utterly despised; and when the second day's attempt upon the Greeks had proved vain, he was altogether ignorant how to proceed further; and so might have continued, had not a runagate Grecian taught him a secret way, by which part of his army might ascend the ledge of mountains, and set upon the backs of those who kept the straits. But when the most valiant of the Persian army had almost enclosed the small forces of the Greeks, then did Leonidas, king of the Lacedæmonians, with his three hundred, and seven hundred Thespians, which were all that abode by him, refuse to quit the place which they had undertaken to make good, and with admirable courage not only resist that world of men which charged them on all sides; but issuing out of their strength, made so great a slaughter of their enemies, that they might well be called vanquishers, though all of them were slain upon the place. Xerxes, having lost in this last fight, together with twenty thousand other soldiers and captains, two of his own brethren, began to doubt what inconvenience might befall him by the virtue of such as had not been present at these battles, with whom he knew that he shortly was to deal. Especially of the Spartans he stood in great fear, whose manhood had appeared singular in this trial, which caused him very carefully to inquire what numbers they could bring into the field. It is reported of Dieneces the Spartan, that when one thought to have terrified him by saying that the flight of the Persian arrows was so thick as would hide the sun, he answered thus: "It is very good "news, for then shall we fight in the cool shade."

Such notable resolution having as freely been expressed in deeds as it was uttered in words, caused the Persian to stand in great doubt, when he heard that the city of Sparta could arm well nigh eight thousand men of the like temper, and that the other Lacedæmonians, though inferior to those, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counsel of Demaratus, a banished king of the Spartans, who had always well advised and instructed him in the things of Greece, what course was fittest to be taken in his further

proceedings. The opinion of Demaratus was, that all the land forces should assemble together to defend the Isthmus, that strait neck of ground which joineth Peloponnesus to the continent. For which cause he advised, that three hundred ships well manned should be sent unto the coast of Laconia, to spoil the country, and to hold the Lacedæmonians and their neighbours busied at home; whilst Xerxes, at his leisure having subdued the rest, might afterwards bring his whole power upon them, who, remaining destitute of succour, would be too weak alone to make resistance. To this purpose also the same Demaratus further advised, that the said fleet of three hundred ships should seize upon the island then called Cythera, now Cerigo, which lying near to the coast of Laconia, might serve as a fit place of rendezvous upon all occasions, either of their own defence, or endamaging the enemy; whereby that ancient speech of Chilon the Lacedæmonian should be verified, that it were better for his countrymen to have that isle drowned in the sea, than stand so inconveniently as for them it did. What effect this counsel might have taken, had it been followed, it is not easy to guess. But a contrary opinion of Achæmenes, brother to king Xerxes, was preferred as the safer. For the Persian fleet had been sorely vexed with a grievous tempest, which continued three whole days together, wherein were lost upon the coast of Magnesia four hundred ships of war, besides other vessels innumerable, accordingly as Artabanus had foreseen, that if any such calamity should overtake them, there would not be found any harbour wide enough to give them succour. Therefore Achæmenes persuaded his brother not to disperse his fleet; for if, said he, after the loss of four hundred ships, we shall send away other three hundred to seek adventures, then will the Greeks be strong enough by sea to encounter the rest of the navy, which, holding all together, is invincible. To this counsel Xerxes yielded, hoping that his land-army and fleet should each of them stand the other in good stead, whilst both held one course, and lay not far asunder. But herein he was far deceived; for about the same time that his army had

felt the valour of the Greeks by land, his navy likewise made a sorrowful proof of their skill and courage at sea. The Grecian fleet lay at that time at Artemisium, in the straits of Eubœa, where the Persians, thinking to encompass them, sent two hundred sail about the island to fall upon them behind, using a like stratagem to that which their king did practise against Leonidas, in a case not unlike, but with far different success. For that narrow channel of the sea which divideth Eubœa from the main, was in the same sort held by a navy of two hundred and seventy-one sail against the huge Persian armada, as the straits of Thermopylæ had formerly been maintained by Leonidas, till he was so circumvented, as this navy might have been, but was not. The departure of those two hundred ships, that were sent about the island, and the cause of their voyage, was too well known in the Persian fleet, and soon enough disclosed to the Greeks, who setting sail by night, met them with a counter-surprise, taking and sinking thirty vessels, enforcing the rest to take the sea; where, being overtaken with foul weather, they were driven upon the rocks, and all cast away. Contrariwise, the navy of the Greeks was increased by the arrival of fifty-three Athenian ships and one Lemnian, which came to their party in the last fight. As these new forces encouraged the one side, so the fear of Xerxes' displeasure stirred up the other to redeem their loss with some notable exploit. Wherefore setting aside their unfortunate policy, they resolved in plain fight to repair their honour, and casting themselves into the form of a crescent, thought so to enclose the Greeks, who readily did present them battle at Artemisium.

The fight endured from noon till night, and ended with equal loss to both parts. For though more of the Persians ships were sunk and taken, yet the lesser loss fell altogether as heavy upon the Greekish fleet, which, being small, could worse bear it. Herein only the Barbarians may seem to have had the worse, that they forsook the place of fight, leaving the wreck and spoils to the enemy, who nevertheless

were fain to abandon presently even the passage which they had undertaken to defend; both for that many of their ships were sorely crushed in the battle, and especially because they had received advertisement of the death of Leonidas at Thermopylæ. Before they weighed anchors, Themistocles, general of the Athenians, engraved upon stone at the watering-place an exhortation to the Ionians, that either they should revolt unto the Greeks, or stand neutral; which persuasion, he hoped, would either take some place with them, or at the least make them suspected by the Persians.

SECT. IV.

The attempt of Xerxes upon Apollo's temple; and his taking of Athens.

WHEN Xerxes had passed the straits of Thermopylæ, he wasted the country of the Phocians, and the regions adjoining; as for the inhabitants, they chose rather to fly, and reserve themselves to a day of battle, than to adventure their lives into his hands, upon hope of saving their wealth, by making proffer unto him of their service. Part of his army he sent to spoil the temple of Delphi, which was exceeding rich by means of many offerings that had there been made by divers kings and great personages; of all which riches it was thought that Xerxes had a better inventory than of the goods left in his own palace. To make relation of a great astonishment that fell upon the companies which arrived at the temple to have sacked it, and of two rocks, that, breaking from the mount Parnassus, overwhelmed many of the Barbarians, it were peradventure somewhat superstitious. Yet Herodotus, who lived not long after, saith, that the broken rocks remained even to his memory in the temple of Minerva, whither they rolled in their fall. And surely this attempt of Xerxes was impious; for seeing he believed that Apollo was a god, he should not have dared to entertain a covetous desire of enriching himself by committing sacrilege upon his temple. Wherefore it may possibly be true, that license to chastise his impiety, in such manner as

is reported, was granted unto the Devil, by that holy One, who saith, [z] *Will a man spoil his gods?* and elsewhere, [a] *Hath any nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? Go to the isles of Kittim, and behold, and send to Kedar, and take diligent heed, and see whether there be any such things.* Now this impiety of Xerxes was the more inexcusable, for that the Persians alleged the burning of Cybele's temple by the Athenians, when they set fire on the city of Sardis in Asia, to be the ground and cause of the waste which they made in burnings of cities and temples in Greece. Whereas indeed, in the enterprise against Delphos, this visor of holy and zealous revenge falling off, discovered the face of covetousness so much the more ugly, by how much the more themselves had professed a detestation of the offence which the Athenians had committed in that kind by mere mischance.

The remainder of that which Xerxes did may be expressed briefly thus: "He came to Athens, which finding "forsaken, he took, and burnt the citadel and temple which "was therein." The citadel indeed was defended a while by some of more courage than wisdom, who literally interpreting Apollo's oracle, "That Athens should be safe in "wooden walls," had fortified that place with boards and palisadoes; too weak to hold out long, though by their desperate valour so well maintained at the first assault, that they might have yielded it upon tolerable conditions, had they not vainly relied upon the prophecy; whereof (being somewhat obscure) it was wisely done of Themistocles, to make discretion the interpreter, applying rather the words to the present need, than fashioning the business to words.

SECT. V.

How Themistocles the Athenian drew the Greeks to fight at Salamis.

THE Athenians had, before the coming of Xerxes, removed their wives and children into Trœzene, Ægina, and Salamis, not so highly prizing their houses and lands, as their freedom, and the common liberty of Greece. Never-

[z] Mal. iii 8. [a] Jer. ii. 10, 11.

theless this great zeal, which the Athenians did shew for the general good of their country, was ill requited by the other Greeks, who with much labour were hardly entreated to stay for them at Salamis, whilst they removed the wives and children out of the city. But when the city of Athens was taken, it was presently resolved upon, that they should forsake the isle of Salamis, and withdraw the fleet to Isthmus; which neck of land they did purpose to fortify against the Persians, and so to defend Peloponnesus by land and sea, leaving the rest of Greece, as indefensible, to the fury of the enemy. So should the islands of Salamis and Ægina have been abandoned, and the families of the Athenians (which were there bestowed as in places of security) have been given over into merciless bondage. Against this resolution Themistocles, admiral of the Athenian fleet, very strongly made opposition, but in vain. For the Peloponnesians were so possessed with fear of losing their own, which they would not hazard, that no persuasions could obtain of them to regard the estate of their distressed friends and allies. Many remonstrances Themistocles made unto them, to allure them to abide the enemy at Salamis; as first in private unto Eurybiades the Lacedæmonian, admiral of the whole fleet, That the selfsame fear which made them forsake those coasts of Greece, upon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no check at the first) cause them also to dissever the fleet, and every one of the confederates to withdraw himself to the defence of his own city and estate; then to the council of war, which Eurybiades upon this motion did call together, (forbearing to object what want of courage might work in them hereafter,) he shewed that the fight at Isthmus would be in an open sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, having the fewer ships, to determine the matter in the straits; and that, besides the safeguard of Ægina, Megara, and Salamis, they should, by abiding where they then were, sufficiently defend Isthmus, which the Barbarians should not so much as once look upon, if the Greeks obtained victory by sea; which they could not so well hope for elsewhere, as in that present

place which gave them so good advantage. All this would not serve to retain the Peloponnesians, of whom one, unworthy of memory, upbraided Themistocles with the loss of Athens, blaming Eurybiades for suffering one to speak in the council that had no country of his own to inhabit. A base and shameful objection it was, to lay as a reproach that loss, which being voluntarily sustained for the common good, was in true estimation by so much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignity did exasperate Themistocles, and put into his mouth a reply so sharp, as availed more than all his former persuasions. He told them all plainly, That the Athenians wanted not a fairer city than any nation of Greece could boast of, having well near two hundred good ships of war, the better part of the Grecian fleet, with which it was easy for them to transport their families and substance into any part of the world, and settle themselves in a more secure habitation, leaving those to shift as well as they might, who in their extremity had refused to stand by them. Herewithal he mentioned a town in Italy, belonging of old to the state of Athens, of which town he said an oracle had foretold, that the Athenians in process of time should build it anew, and there (quoth he) will we plant ourselves, leaving unto you a sorrowful remembrance of my words and of your own unthankfulness. The Peloponnesians, hearing thus much, began to enter into better consideration of the Athenians, whose affairs depended not, as they well perceived, upon so weak terms, that they should be driven to crouch to others; but rather were such as might enforce the rest to yield to them, and condescend even to the uttermost of their own demands.

For the Athenians, when they first embraced that heroical resolution of leaving their grounds and houses to fire and ruin, if necessity should enforce them so far for the preservation of their liberty, did employ the most of their private wealth, and all the common treasure, in building a great navy. By these means they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no such calamity should befall them by land, as

might not well be counterpoised by great advantages at sea: knowing well, that a strong fleet would either procure victory at home, or a secure passage to any other country. The other states of Greece held it sufficient, if building a few new ships they did somewhat amend their navy. Whereby it came to pass, that, had they been vanquished, they could not have expected any other fortune, than either present death or perpetual slavery; neither could they hope to be victorious without the assistance of the Athenians, whose forces by sea did equal all theirs together; the whole consisting of no more than three hundred and fourscore bottoms. Wherefore these Peloponnesians, beginning to suspect their own condition, which would have stood upon desperate points, if the fleet of Athens had forsaken them, were soon persuaded, by the greater fear of such a bad event, to forget the lesser, which they had conceived of the Persians; and laying aside their insolent bravery, they yielded to that most profitable counsel of abiding at Salamis.

SECT. VI.

How the Persians consulted about giving battle, and how Themistocles by policy held the Greeks to their resolution; with the victory at Salamis thereupon ensuing.

IN the mean season the Persians had entered into consultation, whether it were convenient to offer battle to the Greeks or no. The rest of the captains giving such advice as they thought would best please the king their master, had soon agreed upon the fight; but Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, who followed Xerxes to this war in person, was of contrary opinion. Her counsel was, that the king himself directly should march toward Peloponnesus, whereby it would come to pass, that the Greek navy (unable otherwise to continue long at Salamis for want of provision) should presently be dissevered; and every one seeking to preserve his own city and goods, they should, being divided, prove unable to resist him, who had won so far upon them when they held together. And as the profit will be great in forbearing to give battle, so on the other

side the danger will be more (said she) which we shall undergo, than any need requireth us to adventure upon; and the loss, in case it fall upon us, greater than the profit of the victory which we desire. For if we compel the enemies to fly, it is no more than they would have done, we sitting still; but if they, as better seamen than ours, put us to the worst, the journey to Peloponnesus is utterly dashed, and many that now declare for us will soon revolt unto the Greeks. Mardonius, whom Xerxes had sent for that purpose to the fleet, related unto his master the common consent of the other captains, and withal this disagreeing opinion of Artemisia. The king was well pleased with her advice, yet resolved upon following the more general, but far worse counsel of the rest; which would questionless have been the same which Artemisia gave, had not fear and flattery made all the captains utter that, as out of their own judgment, which they thought most conformable to their prince's determination. So it was indeed, that Xerxes had entertained a vain persuasion of much good that his own presence upon the shore, to behold the conflict, would work among the soldiers. Therefore he encamped upon the seaside, pitching his own tent on the mount Ægaleus, which is opposite unto the isle of Salamis, whence at ease he might safely view all which might happen in that action, having scribes about him to write down the acts and behaviour of every captain. The near approach of the Barbarians, together with the news of that timorous diligence which their countrymen shewed in fortifying the Isthmus, and of a Persian army marching apace thither, did now again so terrify and amaze the Peloponnesians, that no entreaty nor contestation would suffice to hold them together. For they thought it mere madness to fight for a country already lost, when they rather should endeavour to save that which remained unconquered; propounding chiefly to themselves what misery would befall them, if, losing the victory, they should be driven into Salamis, there to be shut up, and besieged round in a poor desolate island.

Hereupon they resolved forthwith to set sail for Isthmus;

which had presently been done, if the wisdom of Themistocles had not prevented it. For he perceiving what a violent fear had stopped up their ears against all good counsel, did practise another course, and forthwith labour to prevent the execution of this unwholesome decree, not suffering the very hour of performance to find him busy in wrangling altercation. As soon as the council brake up, he despatched secretly a trusty gentleman to the Persian captains, informing them truly of the intended flight, and exhorting them to send part of their navy about the island, which, encompassing the Greeks, might prevent their escape, giving them withal a false hope of his assistance. The Persians no sooner heard than believed these good news, well knowing that the victory was their own assured, if the Athenian fleet joined with them, which they might easily hope, considering what ability their master had to recompense, for so doing, both the captains with rich rewards, and the people with restitution of their city and territories. By these means it fell out, that when the Greeks very early in the morning were about to weigh anchor, they found themselves enclosed round with Persians, who had laboured hard all night, sending many of their ships about the isle of Salamis, to charge the enemy in rear, and landing many of their men in the isle of Psyttalea, which lieth over against Salamis, to save such of their own, and kill such of the Grecian party, as by any misfortune should be cast upon the shore. Thus did mere necessity enforce the Grecians to undertake the battle in the straits of Salamis, where they obtained a memorable victory, stemming the foremost of their enemies, and chasing the rest, who falling foul one upon another, could neither conveniently fight nor fly. I do not find any particular occurrences in this great battle to be much remarkable. Sure it is, that the scribes of Xerxes had a wearisome task of writing down many disasters that befell the Persian fleet, which ill acquitted itself that day, doing no one piece of service worthy the presence of their king, or the registering of his notaries. As for the Greeks, they might well seem to have wrought out that vic-

tory with equal courage, were it not that the principal honour of that day was ascribed to those of Ægina, and to the Athenians, of whom it is recorded, That when the Barbarians did fly towards Phalerus, where the land-army of Xerxes lay, the ships of Ægina having possessed the straits, did sink or take them, whilst the Athenians did valiantly give charge upon those that kept the sea, and made any countenance of resisting.

SECT. VII.

Of things following after the battle of Salamis; and of the flight of Xerxes.

AFTER this victory, the Greeks intending, by way of scrutiny, to determine which of the captains had best merited of them in all this great service; every captain, being ambitious of that honour, did in the first place write down his own name, but in the second place, as best deserving next unto himself, almost every suffrage did concur upon Themistocles. Thus private affection yielded unto virtue, as soon as her own turn was served. The Persian king, as not amazed with this calamity, began to make new preparation for continuance of war; but in such fashion, that they which were best acquainted with his temper might easily discern his faint heart through his painted looks. Especially Mardonius, author of the war, began to cast a wary eye upon his master, fearing lest his counsel should be rewarded according to the event. Wherefore, purposing rather to adventure his life in pursuit of the victory, than to cast it away by undergoing his prince's indignation, he advised the king to leave unto him three hundred thousand men; with which forces he promised to reduce all Greece under the subjection of the Persian sceptre. Herewithal he forgot not to soothe Xerxes with many fair words, telling him, that the cowardice of those Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Cilicians, with others of the like metal, nothing better than slaves, who had so ill behaved themselves in the late sea-service, did not concern his honour, who had always been victorious, and had already subdued the better part of

Greece, yea, taken Athens itself, against which the war was principally intended. These words found very good acceptance in the king's ear, who presently betook himself to his journey homewards, making the more haste, for that he understood how the Greeks had a purpose to sail to Hellespont, and there to break down his bridge, and intercept his passage. True it was, that the Greeks had no such intent, but rather wished his hasty departure, knowing that he would leave his army not so strong as it should have been, had he in person remained with it. And for this cause did Eurybiades give counsel, that by no means they should attempt the breaking of that bridge, lest necessity should enforce the Persians to take courage, and rather to fight like men, than die like beasts. Wherefore Themistocles did, under pretence of friendship, send a false advertisement to this timorous prince, advising him to convey himself into Asia with all speed, before his bridge were dissolved; which counsel Xerxes took very kindly, and hastily followed, as before is shewed. Whether it were so that he found the bridge whole, and thereby repassed into Asia; or whether it were torn in sunder by tempests, and he thereby driven to embark himself in some obscure vessel, it is not greatly material; though the Greeks did most willingly embrace the latter of these reports. Howsoever it were, this flight of his did well ease the country, that was thereby disburdened of that huge throng of people, which, as locusts, had before overwhelmed it.

SECT. VIII.

The negotiations between Mardonius and the Athenians, as also between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, after the flight of Xerxes.

MARDONIUS, with his three hundred thousand, had withdrawn himself into Thessaly, whence he sent Alexander, the son of Amyntas king of Macedon, as ambassador to the Athenians, with promise of large amends for all their losses received, and of extending their territories as far as their own desires; allowing them to retain their liberty and laws,

if they would make peace with Xerxes, and assist him in that war.

The Athenians had now re-entered their city, but not as yet brought back their wives and children; forasmuch as they well perceived that the place could not be secure, till the army of Mardonius were broken and defeated. Wherefore the Lacedæmonians, understanding what fair conditions this ambassador would propound, were perplexed with very great fear, lest he should find good and ready acceptance. Hereupon they likewise very speedily despatched their ambassadors for Athens, who arriving before the Macedonian had audience, used the best of their persuasion to retain the Athenians firm. They alleged that neither Xerxes nor Darius had any pretence of war against the rest of Greece, but had only threatened the subversion of Athens, till they and all their confederates, arming themselves in defence of that city, were drawn into the quarrel, wherein the Athenians, without much cruelty of injustice, could not leave them. We know, said they, that ye have endured great calamities, losing the fruit of the grounds, and being driven to forsake the town, the houses whereof be ruined, and unfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, we undertake to maintain as our own, your wives and children amongst us, as long as the war shall continue, hoping that ye, who have always procured liberty to others, will not now go about to bring all Greece into slavery and bondage. As for the Barbarians, their promises are large, but their words and oaths are of no assurance. It was needless to use many arguments to the Athenians, who gave answer to Alexander in presence of the Spartan ambassadors, That whilst the sun continued his course they would be enemies to Xerxes, regarding neither gold nor any riches, with which he might seek to make purchase of their liberty. Concerning the maintenance of their wives and children, it was a burden which they promised to sustain themselves, only desiring the Lacedæmonians that with all speed they would cause their army to march; forasmuch as it was not likely that Mardonius would long sit still in Thessaly, having once received such a peremp-

tory answer. In this their opinion of Mardonius's readiness to invade Attica, they found themselves nothing deceived. For he, as soon as Alexander had returned their obstinate purpose of resistance, did forthwith lead his army towards them and their city; they having now the second time quitted it, and conveyed themselves into places of more security abroad in the country, where they expected the arrival of their confederates.

From Athens he sent his agent unto them with instructions, not only to persuade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promises to allure the principal of them to his party. His hope was, that either the people, wearied with forsaking their houses so often, would be desirous to preserve them from fire, and to have those which were already laid waste reedified at the king's charges; or if this affection took no place with them, but that needs they would rely upon their old confederates, whose succours did very slowly advance forwards; yet perhaps the leaders might be won with great rewards to draw them to his purpose; all which projects if they should fail, the destruction of Athens would be a good mean to please his master, king Xerxes, who must thereby needs understand that Mardonius kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of Greece in the strongest part of their own country. But his expectation was beguiled in all these: for the Athenians so little regarded his offers, that when one Lycidas, or (as Demosthenes calls him) Cyrsilus, advised the senate to accept the conditions, and propound them to the people, all the senators, and as many as abiding without the council-house heard what he had said, immediately set upon him, and stoned him to death; not examining whether it were fear or money that had moved him to utter such a vile sentence. Yea, the women of Athens, in the isle of Salamis, hearing of his bad counsel, and bad end, assembling together, did enter his house there, and put his wife and children to the like execution. All this bravery notwithstanding, when they perceived the slackness of the Peloponne-

sians in giving them aid, they were fain to betake themselves to Salamis again, the old place of their security. Remaining there, and seeing little forwardness in those whom it most concerned to assist them, they sent very severe messages to Sparta, complaining of their slackness, and threatening withal to take such course as might stand best with their own good, seeing that the common estate of all was so little regarded. These messengers were at the first entertained with dilatory answers, which every day grew colder, when as the Peloponnesian wall, builded athwart the Isthmus, was almost finished. But as the Lacedæmonians waxed careless and dull, so the Athenians hotly pressed them to a quick resolution, giving them plainly to understand, that if they should hold on in those dilatory courses, it would not be long ere the city of Athens took a new course, that should little please them. All this while the Persian fleet lay upon the coast of Asia, not daring to draw nearer unto Greece, as being now too weak at sea. Likewise the Greekish navy contained itself within the harbours upon Europe side; both to do service where need should require at home, and withal to shun the danger which might have befallen any part of it, that being distracted from the rest had adventured over far. So mutual fear preserved in quiet the islands lying in the midst of the Ægean seas. But it was well and seasonably observed by a counsellor of Sparta, that the wall upon Isthmus would serve to little purpose for the defence of Peloponnesus, if once the Athenians gave ear to Mardonius; considering that many doors would be opened into that demi-island, as soon as the enemy should, by winning the friendship of Athens, become the master of the seas about it. The Lacedæmonians upon this admonition, making better perusal of their own dangers, were very careful to give satisfaction to the Athenian ambassadors, who not brooking their delays, were upon point of taking leave, yea, as it seemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherefore, despatching away five thousand Spartans in the evening, under conduct of Pausanias, they gave audience the next day to the ambassa-

dors, whose complaints they answered with vehement protestations of their readiness; deeply swearing, that the army of Sparta was already far upon the journey; and giving them leave to take up other five thousand Lacedæmonians out of the region adjoining, to follow after them.

The Athenians, though distasting such want of gravity in a matter so important, were nevertheless contented with the final conclusion; and levying the number appointed of Lacedæmonian soldiers, made what haste they could to encamp in Attica. The other Grecians were nothing slack in sending forth companies, whose near approach caused Mardonius to forsake Attica as a rough country, and therefore of much disadvantage to horse, wherein consisted the best of his power. Before his departure, he burnt the city of Athens, beating down the walls of it, and ruining all that had formerly escaped the fury of war.

SECT. IX.

The great battle of Platæa.

IT were too long a rehearsal to shew all that happened in many skirmishes between the Greeks and him, in the country of Bœotia, which Mardonius had chosen to be the seat of that war. Much time was spent before the quarrel was decided by trial of one main battle: for both parties did stand upon their guard, each expecting when the other should assail them.

The army of Mardonius contained about three hundred thousand, which were by him chosen out of Xerxes' army; to whom were adjoined the forces of Thebes, Macedony, Thessaly, and other parts of Greece, that now, siding with the Persian, furnished his camp with fifty thousand men. Against these, the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and their confederates, had levied an army of one hundred and ten thousand, of which forty thousand were weightily armed, the rest were only assistants to these forty thousand, being armed more slightly, as rather to make excursions, and give chase, than to sustain any strong charges.

These two armies, having eleven days confronted one

the other without performing any memorable piece of service, Mardonius, whose victuals began to fail, resolved to begin the fray. The Greeks were promised victory by an oracle, if they fought in the land of the Athenians, and in the plain of Ceres and Proserpina, making prayers unto certain gods, demigods, and nymphs. But it was hard to find the certain place which the oracle designed. For the plain of Ceres was indeed in the territory of Athens; but there was also an old temple of Ceres and Proserpina, near unto the place where they lay at that time encamped, as likewise the memorials of those nymphs and demigods were in the same place, upon mount Cithæron, and the ground served well for footmen against horse; only the land belonged unto the Platæans, and not unto the Athenians.

Whilst the Greeks were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtful oracle, the Platæans, to make all clear, did freely bestow their land on that side the town upon the Athenians.

This magnificence of the Platæans caused Alexander the Great, many ages after, to reedify their city, which was ruined in the Peloponnesian wars.

All things being ready for battle, the Lacedæmonian general thought it most meet that the Athenians should stand opposite that day to the Medes and Persians, whom they had formerly vanquished at Marathon; and that he, with his Spartans, should entertain the Thebans and other Greeks which followed Mardonius, as better acquainted with their fight, and having beaten them oftentimes before. This being agreed upon, the Athenians changed place with the Lacedæmonians; which Mardonius understanding, (whether fearing the Athenians, of whose valour the Medes and Persians had felt heavy proof, or desiring to encounter the Spartans, as thinking them the bravest soldiers in Greece,) he did also change the order of his battle, and oppose himself to Pausanias. All the Greeks might well perceive how the enemy did shift his wings, and Pausanias thereupon returned to his former station; which Mardonius noting, did

also the like. So one whole day was spent in changing to and fro. Some attempt the Persians made that day with their archers on horseback, who did so molest the Greeks at their watering-place, that they were fain to enter into consultation of retiring; because they could not, without much loss to themselves, and none to the enemy, lie near to that fountain which did serve all the camp. Having therefore concluded among themselves to dislodge, and part of the army being sent away before daylight, Mardonius perceived their departure in the morning, and thereupon, being encouraged by their flight, (which to him seemed to proceed out of mere cowardice,) he charged them in rear with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valour, that the Lacedæmonians being overtaken by the enemy's horse, and overwhelmed with great flights of arrows, did quietly sit still, not making any resistance or defence, till the sacrifices for victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and slain, and some of especial mark lost, before any sign of good success appeared in the entrails.

But as soon as Pausanias had found in the sacrifice those tokens which the superstition of that age and country accounted fortunate, he gave the signal of battle; and thereupon the soldiers, who till then did sit upon the ground, as was their manner, arose all together, and with excellent courage received the charge of the Barbarians, that came thronging upon them without any fear of such notable resistance. The rest of the Greek army that was in march, being revoked by Pausanias, came in apace to succour the Lacedæmonians; only that part of the army which was led by the Athenians could not arrive unto the place of the great battle, because the Thebans, and other Greeks confederated with the Persians, gave them check by the way. Nevertheless, the Spartans, with other their assistants, did so well acquit themselves, that the Persians were vanquished, and Mardonius, with many thousands more, slain in the field; the rest fled into the camp, which they had fortified with wooden walls, and there defended themselves with such cou-

rage as desperate necessity enforced them unto, holding out the longer, because the Lacedæmonians were not acquainted with the manner of assaulting fortresses and walls. In the mean season the Athenians, having found strong opposition of the Thebans and Thessalians, did with much labour and courage obtain victory, which having not long pursued, they came to help the Lacedæmonians, whom they found wearily busied in assaulting the camp with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themselves undertook it, and in short space forced a passage through the wall, at which breach first, and then on all sides, the Greeks entered with such fury, and just desire of vengeance, that of three hundred thousand they are said not to have left three thousand alive, excepting those who fled away with Artabazus, when the Persian army first fell to rout.

If the execution were so great as is reported, an especial cause of it was the foolish retreat, or rather flight into the camp. For though it were so, that the place was well fortified, and the number of those who cast themselves into it greater than of the assailants; yet they, being of several nations and languages, and having lost their general, with other principal commanders, it was unpossible that they in such a terror and astonishment should make good that piece of ground, lying in the heart of an enemy's country, against an army of men far more valiant than themselves, and inflamed with present victory. Therefore the same wall, which for a few hours had preserved their lives by holding out the enemy, did now impale them, and leave them to the slaughtering fury of unpitiful victors. Artabazus fled into Thrace, telling the people of Thessaly and other countries in his way, that he was sent by Mardonius upon some piece of service; for he well knew, that had they understood any thing of that great discomfiture, all places would have been hostile unto him, and sought with his ruin to purchase favour of the vanquishers. Therefore making so large marches, that many of his soldiers being feeble were left behind and lost, he came to Byzantium, whence he shipped his men over into Asia. Such was the end of the

vainglorious expedition undertaken by Xerxes against the Greeks, upon hope of honour and great conquest; though sorting otherwise, accordingly as Artabazus had foreseen, and rather worse; forasmuch as it began the quarrel, which never ended before the ruin of the Persian empire was effected, by that nation of the Greeks despised, and sought to have been brought into slavery. Hereby it may seem, that the vision appearing to Xerxes was from God himself, who had formerly disposed of those things, ordaining the subversion of the Persian monarchy by the Greeks, who, thus provoked, entered into greater consideration of their own strength and the weakness of their enemies.

SECT. X.

The battle of Mycale, with a strange accident that fell out in the beginning of it; and examples of the like.

THE same day on which the battle was fought at Platææ, there was another battle fought at Mycale, a promontory or headland in Asia, where the Persian fleet rode.

Leutychides the Spartan, with Xantippus the Athenian, admirals of the Greek navy, at the request of some islanders and Ionians, did sail into those parts to deliver the Samians, and procure the Ionians to revolt from the Persian. Xerxes himself at this time lay at Sardis, a city in Lydia, not far from the sea-side, having left threescore thousand under the command of Tigranes for defence of Ionia and the sea-coast. Therefore when Artayntes and Ithramitres, admirals of the Persian fleet, understood that the Greeks bent their course towards them, they did forthwith draw their ships aground, fortifying with palisadoes and otherwise as much ground as did seem needful for the encamping of all their land and sea forces. Leutychides at his arrival, perceiving that they meant to keep within their strength, and resolving to force them out of it, rowed with his galley close aboard the shore, and called upon the Ionians, (who more for fear than good-will were encamped among the Persians,) exhorting them in the Greek tongue to remember liberty, and use the fair occasion which they now had to reco-

ver it. Herein he did imitate Themistocles, who had done the like at Eubœa; trusting that either these persuasions would prevail, or if the Persians did happen to understand them, that it would breed some jealousy in them, causing them to fight in fear of their own companions. It need not seem strange, that this very same stratagem, which little or nothing availed Themistocles, did now very happily succeed. For Xerxes being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficulty to persuade those inhabitants of Asia to revolt; who now, in his declining estate, gave a willing ear to the sweet sound of liberty. The Persians likewise, who in their former bravery little regarded, and less feared, any treason to be contrived by their subjects, were now so wary, that from the Samians, which were amongst them, they took away their arms; the Milesians, whom they did suspect, but would not seem to mistrust, they placed far from them, as it were for defence of the strait passages of Mycale, pretending that these Milesians did best of all others know those places. But these devices little availed them; for the Samians, perceiving that they were held as traitors, took courage in the heat of the fight, and laying hold upon such weapons as came to hand, assailed the Persians manfully within the camp; which example the Ionians presently followed, being very glad to have found some that durst begin. It is said, that while the Greeks were yet in march towards the enemy's camp, a rumour suddenly ran in the army that Mardonius was overthrown in Greece, which (though perhaps it was given out by the captains to encourage the soldiers) was very true. For the battle of Platææ was fought in the morning, and this of Mycale in the evening of the same day.

The like report of that great battle, wherein Paulus Æmylius overthrew Perseus the last king of Macedon, was brought to Rome in four days, as Livy with others do record. And Plutarch hath many other examples of this kind: as that of the battle by the river Sagra in Italy, which was heard of the same day in Peloponnesus; that of the battle against the Tarquinians and the Latins, presently

noised at Rome; and (which is most remarkable) the victory obtained against Lucius Antonius, who was rebel to Domitian the emperor. This Lucius Antonius, being lieutenant of the higher Germany, had corrupted his army with gifts and promises, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himself emperor; which news much troubling the city of Rome with fear of a dangerous war, it was suddenly reported that Antonius was slain, and his army defeated.

Hereupon many did offer sacrifice to the gods, and shew all manner of public joy, as in such cases was accustomed. But when better inquiry was made, and the author of these tidings could not be found, the emperor Domitian betook himself to his journey against the rebel; and being with his army in march, he received advertisement by post of the victory obtained, and the death of Antonius; whereupon remembering the rumour noised before in Rome, of the selfsame victory, he found that the report and victory were born upon one day, though twenty thousand furlongs (which make about two thousand five hundred miles) asunder. It is truly said of Plutarch, that this last example gives credit unto many the like. And indeed it were very strange, if among so many rumours, begotten by forgery or mistakings, and fostered by credulous imagination, there should not be found (as happens in dreams among many thousand vain and frivolous) a few precisely true. Howbeit we may find, that God himself doth sometimes use to terrify those who presume upon their own strength, by these light means of tumultuous noises; as he raised the siege of Samaria, by causing a sound of horses and chariots to affright the Aramites; and as he threatened Sennacherib, saying, [b] *Behold, I will send a blast upon him, and he shall hear a noise, and return to his own land.* Wherefore it may well have been true, that God was pleased by such a mean as this to animate the Greeks; who (as Herodotus notes) went towards the enemies with heavy hearts, being in great fear lest their own adventure should by no means

[b] Isaiah xxxvii. 7.

fall out well; considering in what danger they had left their country of Greece, which was ready to be subdued by Mardonius, whilst they went wandering to seek out enemies afar off, upon the coast of Asia. But the fame of the battle fought at Platææ being noised among them, every man desired that his own valour in the present fight might be some help to work out the full deliverance of Greece. In this alacrity of spirit they divided themselves into two battalions, whereof the Athenians led the one, by the way of the plain, directly towards the enemy's camp; the Lacedæmonians conducted the other, by the mountains and strait passages, to win the higher ground. The Athenians did first set upon the camp, (ere the Lacedæmonians could arrive on the other part,) and being desirous to get all the honour of the day to themselves, did so forcibly assault it, that they brake way through the palisadoes and gabions, and made themselves masters of the place, slaying all that could not save themselves by flight. In this fight the Samians did good service, as is formerly mentioned.

But the Milesians, who, upon the like jealousy, were placed by the Persians on the tops of Mycale to defend the passages, did now (as if they had been set on purpose to keep them from running away) put as many to the sword as fell into their hands, letting none escape, except a very few that fled through by-paths. The Lacedæmonians that day did little service, for the business was despatched ere they came in; only they broke such companies as retired in whole troops; making them fly dispersed in very much disorder, whereby the Milesians were enabled to do the greater execution upon them. This was the last fight of that huge army levied against Greece, which was now utterly broken, and had no means left to make offensive war.

SECT. XI.

Of the barbarous quality of Xerxes; with a transition from the Persian affairs to matters of Greece, which from this time grew more worthy of regard.

XERXES lay at Sardis, not far from the place of this

battle; but little mind had he to revenge either this or other his great losses, being wholly given over to the love of his brother's wife; with whom, when he could not prevail by entreaty, nor would obtain his desire by force, because he respected much his brother her husband, he thought it best to make a match between his own son Darius and the daughter of this woman, hoping by that means to find occasion of such familiarity as might work out his desire. But whether it were so, that the chastity of the mother did still reject him, or the beauty of her daughter allure him, he soon after fell in love with his own son's wife, being a vicious prince, and as ill able to govern himself in peace as to guide his army in war. This young lady having once desired the king to give her the garment which he then wore, being wrought by his own wife, it caused the queen thereby to perceive her husband's conversation with her, which she imputed, not so much to the beauty of her daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of the mother, against whom thereupon she conceived extreme hatred. Therefore at a royal feast, wherein the custom was that the king should grant every request, she craved that the wife of Masistes, her husband's brother, the young lady's mother, might be given into her disposition. The barbarous king, who might either have reformed the abuse of such a custom, or have deluded the importunate cruelty of his wife, by threatening herself with the like to whatsoever she should inflict upon the innocent lady, granted the request, and sending for his brother, persuaded him to put away the wife which he had, and take one of his daughters in her stead. Hereby it seems that he understood how villainously that poor lady should be entreated, whom he knew to be virtuous, and whom himself had loved. Masistes refused to put her away, alleging his own love, her deserving, and their common children, one of which was married to the king's son, as reasons important to move him to keep her. But in most wicked manner Xerxes reviled him, saying, That he now should neither keep the wife which he had, nor have his daughter whom he had promised unto him.

Masistes was much grieved with these words, but much more when returning home he found his wife most butcherly mangled by the queen Amestris, who had caused her nose, lips, ears, and tongue to be cut off, and her breasts in like manner, which were cast unto dogs. Masistes, enraged with this villainy, took his way with his children, and some friends, towards Bactria, of which province he was governor, intending to rebel and avenge himself. But Xerxes, understanding his purpose, caused an army to be levied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his company to the sword. Such was the tyrannical condition of the Persian government; and such are generally the effects of luxury when it is joined with absolute power.

Yet of Xerxes it is noted, that he was a prince of much virtue: and therefore Alexander the Great, finding an image of his overthrown, and lying upon the ground, said, that he doubted, whether in regard of his virtue he should again erect it, or, for the mischief done by him to Greece, should let it lie. But surely whatsoever his other good qualities were, he was foolish, and was a coward, and consequently merciless.

Therefore we may firmly believe, that the virtue of Cyrus was very great, upon which the foundation of the Persian empire was so surely laid, that all the wickedness and vanities of Xerxes, and other worse princes, could not overthrow it, until it was broken by a virtue almost equal to that which did establish it. In wars against the Egyptians, the fortune of Xerxes did continue, as at the first it had been, very good; but against the general estate of Greece, neither he nor any of his posterity did ever make offensive war, but received many losses in Asia, to which the last at Mycale served but as an introduction; teaching the Greeks, and especially the Athenians, that the Persian was no better soldier at his own doors than in a foreign country; whereof good trial was made forthwith, and much better proof, as soon as the affairs of Athens were quietly settled and assured.

From this time forward I will therefore pursue the his-

tory of Greece, taking in the matters of Persia, as also the estate of other countries, collaterally, when the order of time shall present them. True it is, that the Persian estate continued in her greatness many ages following, in such wise, that the known parts of the world had no other kingdom representing the majesty of a great empire.

But this greatness depended only upon the riches and power that had formerly been acquired, yielding few actions or none that were worthy of remembrance, excepting some tragedies of the court, and examples of that excessive luxury, wherewith both it and all or the most of empires that ever were, have been enervated, made unwieldy, and (as it were) fattened for the hungry swords of poor and hardy enemies. Hereby it came to pass that Xerxes and his successors were fain to defend their crowns with money and base policies; very seldom or never (unless it were with great advantage) daring to adventure the trial of plain battle with that little nation of Greece, which would soon have ruined the foundations laid by Cyrus, had not private malice and jealousy urged every city to envy the height of her neighbour's walls, and thereby diverted the swords of the Greeks into their own bowels, which after the departure of Xerxes began very well, and might better have continued, to hew out the way of conquest on the side of Asia.

CHAP. VII.

Of things that passed in Greece from the end of the Persian war to the beginning of the Peloponnesian.

SECT. I.

How Athens was rebuilt and fortified.

AFTER that the Medes and Persians had received their last blow, and were utterly beaten at Mycale, Leotychides, who then commanded the Grecian army, leaving the pur-

suit of the war to the Athenians, assisted by the revolted Iones, returned with the Lacedæmonians and other Peloponnesians to Sparta, and other places, out of which they had been levied. The Athenians in the meanwhile besieged Sestos, a city on the strait of the Hellespont, between which and Abydus Xerxes had lately fastened his bridge of boats; where the inhabitants, desperate of succour, did not long dispute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the Greeks, who entertained themselves the winter following on that side the Hellespont. In the spring they drew homeward, and having left their wives and children, since the invasion of Attica, and the abandoning of Athens, in divers islands, and at Trœzen, they now found them out, and returned with them to their own places.

And though the most part of all their houses in Athens were burnt and broken down, and the walls of the city overturned, yet they resolved first on their common defence, and to fortify their city, before they cared to cover themselves, their wives, and children, with any private buildings; whereof the Lacedæmonians being advertised, and misliking the fortifying of Athens, both in respect that their own city of Sparta was unwalled, as also because the Athenians were grown more powerful by sea than either themselves or any other state of Greece, they despatched messengers to the Athenians to dissuade them; not acknowledging any private mislike or jealousy, but pretending, that if the Persians should return to invade Greece a third time, the Athenians being in no better state to defend themselves than heretofore, the same would serve to receive their enemies, and to be made a seat for the war, as Thebes had lately been. To this the Athenians promised to give them satisfaction by their own ambassadors very speedily. But being resolved to go on with their works by the advice of Themistocles, they held the Lacedæmonians in hope of the contrary, till they had raised their walls to that height, as they cared not for their mislikes, nor doubted their disturbance; and therefore (to gain time) they despatched The-

mistocles towards Lacedæmon, giving him for excuse, that he could not deliver the Athenians' resolutions till the arrival of his fellow-commissioners, who were of purpose retarded. But after a while, the Lacedæmonians' expectation being converted into jealousy, (for by the arrival of divers persons out of Attica, they were told for certain, that the walls of Athens were speedily grown up beyond expectation,) Themistocles prayed them not to believe reports and vain rumours, but that they would be pleased to send some of their own trusty citizens to Athens, from whose relation they might resolve themselves, and determine accordingly. Which request being granted, and commissioners sent, Themistocles despatched one of his own, by whom he advised the Athenians, first to entertain the Lacedæmonians with some such discourse as might retain them a few days, and in conclusion to hold them among them till himself and the other Athenian ambassadors, then at Sparta, had their liberty also to return. Which done, and being also assured by his associates and Aristides, that Athens was already defensible on all parts, Themistocles demanding audience, made the Lacedæmonians know, that it was true that the walls of Athens were now raised to that height, as the Athenians doubted not the defence of their city; praying the Lacedæmonians to believe, that whensoever it pleased them to treat with the Athenians, they would know them for such as right well understood what appertained to a commonweal and their own safety, without direction and advice from any other: that they had in the war of Xerxes abandoned their city, and committed themselves to the wooden walls of their ships, from the resolution of their own counsels and courage, and not thereto taught or persuaded by others; and finally, in all that perilous war against the Persians, they found their own judgments, and the execution thereof in nothing inferior or less fortunate, than that of any other nation, state, or commonweal among the Greeks; and therefore concluded, that they determined to be masters and judges of their own af-

fairs, and thought it good reason that either all the cities confederated within Greece should be left open, or else that the walls of Athens should be finished and maintained.

The Lacedæmonians finding the time unfit for quarrel, dissembled their mislike, both of the fortifying of Athens, and of the division, and so suffered the Athenians to depart, and received back from them their own ambassadors.

The walls of Athens finished, they also fortified the port Piræus, by which they might under covert embark themselves upon all occasions.

SECT. II.

The beginning of the Athenian greatness, and prosperous wars made by that state upon the Persian.

THE Athenians having settled things in good order at home, prepared thirty galleys for the pursuit of the war against the Persians, to which the Lacedæmonians added other twenty; and with this fleet, strengthened by the rest of the cities of Greece confederated, they set sail for Cyprus, under the conduct of Pausanias the Lacedæmonian; where, after their landing, having possessed themselves of many principal places, they embarked the army again, and took land in Thrace, recovering from the Persians by force the city Byzantium, now Constantinople: from whence Pausanias, behaving himself more like a tyrant than a captain, especially towards the Ionians lately revolted from Xerxes, was called back by the council of Lacedæmon, and not only accused of many insolent behaviours, but of intelligence with the Medes, and treason against his country. In his stead they employed Docres, who either gave the same cause of offence, or else the Athenians, who affected the first commandment in that war, practised the soldiers to complain; though indeed the wise and virtuous behaviour of Aristides, general of the Athenian forces, a man of rare and incomparable sincerity, had been able to make a good commander seem ill in comparison of himself; and therefore was much more available in rendering those detested, whose vices afforded little matter of excuse. Howsoever it

were, the Lacedæmonians, being no less weary of the war than the Athenians were eager to pursue it, the one obtained their ease, and the other the execution and honour which they desired; for all the Greeks (those of Peloponnesus excepted) willingly subjected themselves to the commandment of the Athenians, which was both the beginning of their greatness in that present age, and of their ruin in the next succeeding. For the charge of the war being now committed unto them, they began to rate the confederated cities, they appointed receivers and treasurers, and began to levy money according to their discretion, for the maintenance of the general defence of Greece, and for the recovering of those places on Europe side in Asia the Less, and the islands, from the Persians. This tribute (the first that was ever paid by the Greeks) amounted to four hundred and threescore talents, which was raised easily by the honest care of that just man Aristides, to whose discretion all the confederates referred themselves, and no one man found occasion to complain of him. But as the virtue of Aristides, and other worthy citizens, brought unto the Athenians great commodity; so the desire which they conceived of increasing their commodity corrupted their virtue, and robbing them of the general love which had made them powerful, abandoned their city to the defence of her treasure, which with her in the next age perished. For it was not long ere these four hundred and threescore talents were raised to six hundred, nor long after that, ere their covetous tyranny had converted their followers into slaves, and extorted from them yearly thirteen hundred talents. The isle of Delos was at the first appointed for the treasure-house wherein these sums were laid up; and where, at the general assembly, the captains of those forces, sent by the confederates, were for form-sake called to consultation. But the Athenians, who were stronger by sea than all Greece besides, had locked up the common treasure in an island under their own protection, from whence they might transport it at their pleasure, as afterwards they did.

The general commander in this war was Cimon the son

of Miltiades, who first took Eiona, upon the river Strimon; then the isle of Sciros, inhabited by the Dolopes: they mastered the Caristii, and brought into servitude the Naxii, contrary to the form of the confederacy; so did they other the inhabitants of Greece, if at any time they failed of their contribution, or disobeyed their commandments; taking upon them and usurping a kind of sovereign authority over the rest: which they exercised the more assuredly, because they were now become lords of the sea, and could not be resisted. For many of the confederated cities and nations, weary of the war in their own persons, and given up altogether to their ease, made choice rather to pay their parts in money, than either in men of war or in ships, leaving the provision of both to the Athenians. Hereby the one grew weak in all their sea-defences, and in the exercise of the wars; the other greatly strengthened their navy and their experiences, being always armed and employed in honourable services, at the cost of those who having lifted them into their saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the tribute-money, levied upon these their confederates, employed so well by the Athenians at the first, (as ill proceedings are often founded upon good beginnings,) that no great cause of repining was given. For they rigged out a great fleet of galleys, very well manned, wherewith Cimon the admiral scouring the Asiatic seas, took in the city of Phaselis; which having formerly pretended neutrality, and refused to relieve, or any way assist the Greeks, were enforced to pay ten talents for a fine, and so to become followers of the Athenians, paying yearly contribution.

From thence he set sail for the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia, where the Persian fleet rode, being of six hundred sail, or (according to the most sparing report) three hundred and fifty, and having a great land-army encamped upon the shore: all which forces having been provided for advancing the king's affairs in Greece, were utterly defeated in one day, and two hundred ships taken by the Athenians, the rest being broken to pieces or sunk ere ever they had

swum in the Greekish seas. Cimon having in one day obtained two great victories, the one by the sea and the other by land, was very soon presented with a third. For fourscore sail of Phœnicians, (who were the best of all seamen under the Persian command,) thinking to have joined themselves with the fleet before destroyed, arrived upon the same coast, ignorant of what had passed, and fearing nothing less than what ensued. Upon the first notice of their approach Cimon weighed anchor, and meeting them at an headland called Hydra, did so amaze them, that they only sought to run themselves on ground; by which means preserving few of their men, they lost all their ships. These losses did so break the courage of the Persian, that, omitting all hope of prevailing upon Greece, he condescended to whatsoever articles it pleased the Athenians to propound, granting liberty unto all the Greeks inhabiting Asia; and further covenanting, that none of his ships of war should sail to the westward of the isles called Cyaneæ and Chelidoniæ.

This was the most honourable peace that ever the Greeks made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any war that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole nation, till such time as under Alexander they overthrew the empire of Persia; in which war few, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great command, but served altogether under the Macedonians.

SECT. III.

The death of Xerxes by the treason of Artabanus.

BESIDES these losses, which could not easily have been repaired, the troubles of the empire were at this time such, as gave just cause to the Persian of seeking peace upon any terms not altogether intolerable. For Artabanus, the uncle of Xerxes, perceiving that the king his master did easily take small occasions to shed the blood of such as in kindred or place were near unto him, began to repose less hope of safety in remaining faithful, than of obtaining the sovereignty, by destroying a prince that was so hated for his cruelty, and despised for his cowardice and misfortunes.

Having conceived this treason, he found means to execute it, by Mithridates an eunuch, in such close manner, that (as if he himself had been innocent) he accused Darius the son of Xerxes, and caused him to suffer death as a parricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickedness he got the kingdom, and held it seven months; or whether, intending the like evil to Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes, he was by him prevented and surprised, it were hard to affirm any certainty. But all writers agree upon this, that taken he was, and with his whole family put to death by extreme torments, according to the sentence, whereof the truth is more ancient than the verse,

Raro antecedentem scelestum
Deseruit pede pœna claudo.

Seldom the villain, though much haste he make,
Lame-footed Vengeance fails to overtake.

SECT. IV.

The banishment of Themistocles; his flight to Artaxerxes newly reigning in Persia, and his death.

ARTAXERXES being established in his kingdom, and having so compounded with the Athenians as the present necessity of his affairs required, began to conceive new hopes of better fortune against the Greeks, than he or his predecessors had ever hitherto found. For the people of Athens, when the Persians were chased out of Greece, did so highly value their own merits in that service, that they not only thought it fit for themselves to become the commanders over many towns and islands of the Greeks, but even within their own walls they would admit none other form of government than merely democratical. Herein they were so insolent, that no integrity nor good desert was able to preserve the estate of any such as had borne great office, longer than, by flattering the rascal multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deeds to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended Themistocles; who, though in former times he had laid the foun-

dations of his greatness upon popularity, yet now, presuming upon his good services done to the state, he thought that with great reason they might grant him the liberty to check their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwise, they were so highly offended with his often rehearsing the benefits which they had received from him, that they laid upon him the punishment of ostracism, whereby he was banished for ten years, as a man overburdensome to the commonwealth.

Before the time of his return was half expired, a new accusation was brought against him by the Lacedæmonians, who charged him of consulting with Pausanias about betraying the whole country of Greece unto Xerxes. Hereupon Themistocles, finding no place of security against the malice of two such mighty cities, was driven, after many troublesome flights and dangerous removings, to adventure himself into Persia; where he found Artaxerxes newly settled, and was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which Artaxerxes had conceived of advancing his affairs by the counsel and assistance of Themistocles proved altogether fruitless. For when the Athenians, in favour of Inarus the Libyan, (who infested Egypt, causing it to rebel against the Persian,) had sent a fleet to sea, landing an army in Egypt, and scouring those eastern seas, to the great hinderance of Artaxerxes, and (for ought that I can understand) to the manifest breach of that peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with Xerxes; then did the king send his letters to Themistocles, requiring him to make good the hopes which he had given, of assuring the Persian estate against the Greeks.

But whether Themistocles perceived much unlikeliness of good success, in leading a great army of dastardly Persians against the warlike people of Greece; or else (as in favour of his virtue it is more commonly reported) the love of his country would not permit him to seek honour by the ruin of it; sure it is, that being appointed by Artaxerxes to undertake the conduct of great forces against the Athenians, he decided the great conflict between thankfulness to

his well-deserving prince, and natural affection to his own ill-deserving people, by finishing his life with a cup of poison.

SECT. V.

How the Athenians, breaking the peace, which to their great honour they had made with the Persian, were shamefully beaten in Egypt.

THEN was Artaxerxes driven to use the service of his own captains in the Egyptian war, wherein it appeared well, that a just cause is a good defence against a strong enemy. An Athenian fleet, of two hundred sail strong, was sent forth under Cimon, to take in the isle of Cyprus; which conquest seemed easy both to make and to maintain, the Persian being utterly broken at sea, and thereby unable to relieve the island. Now although it were so, that a peace had been concluded, which was likely to have been kept sincerely by the Persian, who had made so good proof of the Grecian valour, that he was nothing desirous to build any ships of war, (without which the Greeks could receive no harm from him,) whereof if any one should be found sailing towards Greece, the peace was immediately broken, and if not, his whole estate; yet all the sea-coast (no small part of his dominions) exposed to the waste of an enemy too far overmatching him. Yet whether the Athenians were in doubt, lest the league, which in his own worser fortunes he had made with them, he would break in theirs, and therefore sought to get such assurance into their hands as might utterly disable him from attempting ought against them; or whether the increase of their revenues and power, by adding that rich and great island to their empire, caused them to measure honour by profit, they thought it the wisest way to take whilst they might whatsoever they were able to get and hold, and he unable to defend.

The isle of Cyprus, lying in the bottom of the straits between Cilicia, Syria, and Egypt, is very fitly seated for any prince of state, that being mighty at sea, doth either seek to enrich himself by trade with those countries, or to infest one or more of them when they are his enemies. And this

being the purpose of the Athenians, their ambition, which had already devoured in conceit this island, was on the sudden well nigh choked with a greater morsel, to snatch at which they let Cyprus alone, which they might easily have swallowed and digested. For Inarus king of the Libyans, confining Egypt, having found how greatly the country was exhausted by the late wars, and how weakly defended by very slender Persian garrisons, conceived rightly, that if such small forces as the satrapa or viceroy could make on the sudden of his own guards, or levy out of the ordinary garrisons, were by him defeated, the naturals of the country, not long since oppressed by Cambyses, and after a revolt very lately subdued by Xerxes, would soon break faith with him who had no other title to that kingdom than a good sword. Further, he persuaded himself that the people, unable to defend themselves against the Persian without his assistance, would easily be drawn to accept him, the author of their deliverance, for king. Neither did this hope deceive him; for having taken and cruelly slain Achæmenes the viceroy, divers cities forthwith declared themselves for him, and proclaiming him king, shewed the most of their endeavour for prosecution of the war. But he considering his own weakness, and that the means of the Egyptians his adherents were not answerable to their desires, perceived well, that to resist the power of Artaxerxes far greater forces than his and theirs were to be procured, at what price soever he obtained them. Therefore hearing of the great Athenian fleet, and knowing well the virtue of the soldiers therein embarked, he invited the commanders to share with him the kingdom of Egypt, as a far greater reward of their adventure than such an addition as that of Cyprus could be to their estate. Whether he or they (if things had wholly sorted according to their expectation) would have been contented with an equal share, and not have fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a divination unnecessary: he was possessed of the people's love; they were of most power. But the issue of those affairs was such as left them nothing to communicate

but misfortunes, which they shared somewhat equally. Yet had the beginnings of their enterprise very good and hopeful success; for they entered the land as far as to Memphis, the principal city; and of the city itself they took two parts; to the third part, which was called the White Wall, they laid such hard siege, that neither those forces of the Persians which then were in Egypt were strong enough to remove them, neither could Artaxerxes well devise what means to use for the recovery of that which was lost, or for the preservation of the remainder. The best of his hope was by setting the Lacedæmonians upon Athens, to enforce the Athenians to look homewards to their own defence. This was the first time that the Persian sought to procure assistance of the Greeks one against the other, by stirring them up with gold to the entertainment of private quarrels, for the good of their common enemy. To this purpose he sent Megabazus to Sparta with much treasure; who, after great expense, finding that the Lacedæmonians were nothing forward in employing their whole force against the Athenians, whom in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithstanding the absence of their army in Egypt; he thought it his wisest way to employ the rest of his money and means to their relief, who had now the space of six years defended his master's right in Egypt. Therefore he hastily despatched another of his name, the son of Zopyrus, who arriving in Egypt was first encountered by the revolted people; over whom he obtained a victory, which made him master of the country, whilst the Athenians lay busied about Memphis the great city. It cannot be doubted, that long abode in a strange air, and want of supply, had much enfeebled the Athenians; sure it is, that when Megabazus, having reduced the country to obedience, attempted the city itself, whether his former success had amended the courage of the Persians, or want of necessaries made the Athenians inferior to themselves, he chased them out of Memphis, and pursued them so near, as they were

forced to fortify themselves in the isle of [c] Prosopites, where Megabazus, after eighteen months siege, turning away one part of the river by divers trenches, assaulted the Athenians without impediment of waters, took their galleys, and put all to the sword, save a few that saved themselves by flight into Libya: the same entertainment had fifty other galleys, which they sent to the succour of the first two hundred. For those Athenians, having heard nothing that their fleet and army was consumed, entered by the branch of Nilus called [d] Mendesium, and fell unawares among the Phœnician galleys and the Persian army, so as the Persians recovered all Egypt, but that part held by Amyrtæus, and Inarus the king of Libya being by them taken and hanged. This was the end of the Athenians six years war in Egypt, and the reward of their vanity and indiscretion to undertake many enterprises at once.

SECT. VI.

Of other wars made by the Athenians, for the most part with good success, about the same time.

NOTWITHSTANDING these overthrows in Egypt, yet the Athenians in their home wars waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their forces against the Lacedæmonians, Corinthians, and others, rather to their advantage than otherwise. For as they were beaten near unto Halia by the Corinthians and Epidaurians, so they obtained two great victories soon after; the one over the Peloponnesians, near unto Cecryphalia; the other over the Æginets, near unto Ægina; where they sunk and carried away threescore and ten galleys of their enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the sudden, and besieged Ægina, from whence they could not be moved, notwithstanding that the Corinthians, to divert them, invaded

[c] Prosopites, an island between the rivers of Taly and Pharmutiacus, two of the outlets of Nilus towards Alexandria.

[d] Mendesius is an island in the mouth of Nilus, between the outlet called Busiriticus and Diolcos. But the branch of Nilus called Mendesium runneth into the sea by the city Panæphysis.

Megara; where, after a great fight with equal loss, the Corinthians, when they returned again to set up their trophy, as victors in the former battle, were utterly broken and slaughtered by the Athenian garrisons and Megarians, to their great loss and dishonour.

Again, as the Athenians were discomfited near to Tanagra by the Lacedæmonians, who returned from the succour of the Dorians against the Phocians, (at which time the Thessalian horsemen turned from their allies the Athenians, and fought against them,) so about threescore days after, the Athenians entered Bœotia under the conduct of Myronides, where, beating that nation, they won Phocis on the gulf Œteus, and evened the walls of Tanagra to the ground. Finally, they enforced Ægina to render upon most base conditions; as, to beat down the walls of their city, and to give them hostages for tribute; the siege whereof they had continued, notwithstanding all their other brabbles and attempts elsewhere. Besides these victories, they sacked and spoiled many places upon the sea-coast of Peloponnesus belonging to the Lacedæmonians, won upon the Corinthians, and overthrew the Sicyonians that came to their succour. These were the undertakings of the Athenians, and their allies, during the time of those six years that a part of their forces made war in Egypt. In the end whereof they attempted Thessaly, persuaded thereunto by Orestes, but were resisted by the king Pharsalus, who had chased Orestes out of his dominions. They also landed in Sicyonia, and had victory over those that resisted; after which they made truce with the Peloponnesians for five years, and sent Cimon into Cyprus with two hundred ships, but they were again allured by Amyrtæus, one of the race of their former kings, who held the marish and woody parts of Egypt from the Persians, to whom they sent sixty of their ships. The rest of their army, failing in their enterprise of Cyprus, and their fortunate and victorious leader Cimon dying there, as they coasted the island, encountered a fleet of the Phœnicians and Cilicians, over both which na-

tions they returned victorious into Greece; as also those returned safe which were sent into Egypt.

SECT. VII.

Of Artaxerxes Longimanus, that he was Ahasuerus, the husband of queen Esther.

THESE Egyptian troubles being ended, the reign of Artaxerxes continued peaceable; whereof the length is by some restrained into twenty years, but the more and better authors give him forty; some allow unto him four and forty. He was a prince of much humanity, and noted for many examples of gentleness. His favour was exceeding great to the Jews, as appeareth by the histories of Esdras and Nehemiah, which fell in his time.

To prove that this was the king who gave countenance and aid to that great work of building the temple, it were a needless travail; considering that all the late divines have taken very much pain to shew, that those two prophets were licensed by him, and succoured in that building, in such sort as appears in their writings.

This was likewise that king Ahasuerus who married Esther; whereof if it be needful to give proof, it may suffice, that Ahasuerus lived in Susa, reigning from India to Ethiopia, and therefore must have been a Persian; that he lived in peace, as appears by the circumstances of the history, and used the counsel of the seven princes, the authority of which princes began under Darius the son of Hystaspes; wherefore he could be neither Cyrus nor Cambyses.

The continual wars which exercised king Darius the son of Hystaspes, together with the certainty of his marriages with sundry wives, from none of whom he was divorced, but left his first wife Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, alive in great honour, she being mother to Xerxes the succeeding king, do manifestly prove that Esther was not his. Whereunto is added by Philo the Jew, that at the persuasion of Mardochæus, Joiakim the high priest, the son of

Jesua, caused the feast of Purim to be instituted in memory of that deliverance. Now the time of Joiakim was in the reign of Artaxerxes, at the coming of Esdras and Nehemiah, Jesua his father dying about the end of Darius.

The same continuance of wars, with other his furious and tragical loves wherewith Xerxes did consume such little time as he had free from war, are enough to prove that the story of Esther pertained not unto the time of Xerxes, who lived but one and twenty years, whereas the two and thirtieth of Ahasuerus, or Artasastha, is expressed by Nehemiah. Again, it is well known that Xerxes in the seventh year of his reign (wherein this marriage must have been celebrated) came not near to Susa. Of the princes that succeeded Artaxerxes Longimanus, to prove that none of them could be Ahasuerus, it is enough to say, that Mardochæus, having been carried from Jerusalem captive with Jechonia by Nebuchadnezzar, was unlikely to have lived unto their times.

But of this Artaxerxes, it is true that he lived in Susa, reigned from India to Ethiopia, lived in peace, was contemporary with Joiakim the high priest; and further, he had happily by his lieutenants reclaimed the rebellious Egyptians in that seventh year of his reign; which good fortune might well give occasion to such a royal feast as is described in the beginning of the book of Esther. This is the sum of the arguments brought to prove the age of Esther's story by the learned and diligent Krentzhemius, who adds the authorities of Josephus, affirming the same, and of Philo, giving to Mardochæus eighteen years more than Isaac the patriarch lived; namely, one hundred fourscore and eighteen years in all, which expire in the five and thirtieth year of this Artaxerxes, if we suppose him to have been carried away captive, being a boy of ten years old.

SECT. VIII.

Of the troubles in Greece foregoing the Peloponnesian war.

BUT it is fit that we now return to the affairs of the Greeks, who from this time forward, more vehemently pro-

secuting their civil wars, suffered the Persians for many ages to rest in peace, this Egyptian expedition being come to nought. Soon after this, the Lacedæmonians undertook the war, called *sacred*, recovered the temple and isle of Delphos, and delivered both to the inhabitants; but the Athenians regained the same, and gave it in charge to the Phocians. In the mean while the banished Bœotians re-entered their own land, and mastered two of their own towns, possessed by the Athenians, which they soon recovered again from them; but in their return towards Athens, the Bœotians, Eubœans, and Locrians (nations oppressed by the Athenians) set upon them with such resolution, as the Athenians were in that fight all slain or taken, whereby the Bœotians recovered their former liberty, restoring to the Athenians their prisoners. The islanders of Eubœa took such courage upon this, that they revolted wholly from the Athenians, whom when Pericles intended to reconquer, he was advertised that the Megarians, (who first left the Lacedæmonians, and submitted themselves to Athens,) being now weary of their yoke, had slain the Athenian garrisons, and joined themselves with the Corinthians, Sicyonians, and Epidaurians. These news hastened Pericles homeward with all possible speed, but ere he could recover Attica, the Peloponnesians, led by Plistoanax the son of Pausanias, had invaded it, pillaged, and burnt many parts thereof; after whose return Pericles went on with his first intent, and recovered Eubœa. Finally, the Athenians began to treat of peace with the Peloponnesians, and yielded to deliver up all the places which they held in the country of Peloponnesus; and this truce was made for thirty years. After six of these years were expired, the Athenians (favouring the Milesians against the Samians) invaded Samos by Pericles, and after many repulses, and some great losses, both by sea and land, the citizens were forced to yield themselves upon most lamentable conditions; namely, to deliver up all their ships, to break down their own walls, to pay the charge of the war, and to restore whatsoever had been taken by themselves or by their practice from the Athenians.

In the neck of which followed that long and cruel Peloponnesian war, whereof I have gathered this brief following; the same contention taking beginning fifty years after the flight of Xerxes out of Greece. But because there was no city thereof, which either in the beginning of this war or in the continuance of it, was not drawn into the quarrel, I hold it convenient now at the first to shew briefly the estate of the country at that time, and especially the condition of those two great cities, Athens and Sparta, upon which all the rest had most dependance.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponnesian war.

SECT. I.

Upon what terms the two principal cities of Greece, Athens and Sparta, stood, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.

GREECE was never united under the government of any one prince or estate, until Philip of Macedon, and after him Alexander, brought them rather to a union and league against the Persian, whereof they were captains, than into any absolute subjection. For every estate held their own, and were governed by laws far different, and by their own magistrates, notwithstanding the power of the Macedonians, to whom they did yield obedience no otherwise than as to such, who were (perforce) their leaders in the Persian war, (deemed the general quarrel of Greece,) and took the profit and honour of the victory to their own use and increase of greatness. But the kings, which afterwards reigned in Macedonia, did so far enlarge their authority, that all Greece was by them brought under such obedience as differed little from servitude; very few excepted, who could hardly, sometimes with arms and sometimes with gifts, preserve their liberty; of whom the Lacedæmonians and Athenians were chief; which two people deserved best the plague of tyranny, having first given occasion thereunto by their great

ambition, which wearied and weakened all the country by perpetual war. For, until these two cities of Athens and Sparta distracted all Greece, drawing every state into the quarrel on the one or other side, and so gave beginning to the Peloponnesian war, (the effects whereof, in true estimation, ceased not before the time that Philip had overmastered all, forasmuch as every conclusion of one war afforded henceforth matter to some new distraction of the whole country,) the wars, commenced between one city of Greece and another, were neither great nor of long continuance. All controversies were soon decided, either by the authority of the Amphictyons, who were the general council of Greece, or by the power of the Lacedæmonians, whose aid was commonly held as good as the assurance of victory.

These Lacedæmonians had lived about four hundred years under one form of government, when the Peloponnesian war began. Their education was only to practise feats of arms, wherein they so excelled, that a very few of them were thought equal to very great numbers of any other people. They were poor, and cared not much for wealth; every one had an equal portion of the common field, which sufficed to maintain him in such a manner of life as they used. For bravery they had none, and curious building or apparel they regarded not. Their diet was simple, their feasts and ordinary meals being in common halls, where all fared alike. They used money of iron, whereof they could not be covetous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they lived Utopian-like, save that they used no other occupation than war, placing all their felicity in the glory of their valour. Hereby it came to pass, that in all enterprises whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all Greece followed their conduct. But the Athenians were in all points contrary to this; for they sought wealth, and measured the honours of their victories by the profit; they used mercenary soldiers in their wars, and exacted great tribute of their subjects, which were for the most part islanders, compelled to obey them, because the Athenian fleet was great.

As in form of policy and in course of life, so in conditions natural, the difference between these two people was very much. The Athenians were eager and violent, sudden in their conclusions, and as hasty in the execution; the Lacedæmonians very slow in their deliberations, full of gravity, but very resolute, and such as would in cold blood perform what the Athenians did usually in flagrant. Whereby it came to pass that the Lacedæmonians had all the estates of Greece depending upon them, as on men firm and assured, that sought honour, and not riches; whereas the Athenians were followed by such as obeyed them perforce, being held in strait subjection. But the seigniory of the Athenians was nothing large, until such time as the Persian Xerxes had invaded Greece, pretending only a quarrel to Athens. For then the citizens, perceiving well that the town of Athens could not be defended against his great army of one million seven hundred thousand men, bestowed all their wealth upon a navy, and (assisted by the other Grecians) overthrew the fleet of Xerxes, whose land forces were soon after discomfited by them and the Greeks, who all served under conduct of the Spartans. After these victories, the Athenians, being now very mighty in fleet, reduced all the islands of the Greekish seas under their obedience, imposing upon them a hard tribute for maintenance (as they pretended) of war against the Persian; though indeed they employed their forces chiefly to the conquest of such islands and haven towns of their own countrymen as stood out against them. All which was easily suffered by the Lacedæmonians, who were inlanders, and men that delighted not in expeditions to be made far from home. But afterwards perceiving the power of the Athenians to grow great, they held them in much jealousy, and were very apt to quarrel with them; but much more willing to breed contention between them and other estates. Wherefore at such time as the Thebans would have oppressed the Plateans, when they of Platæa repaired to Sparta for succour, they found there no other aid than this advice, That they should seek help at Athens. Hereby it was thought, that the

Athenians should be entangled in a long and tedious war with their neighbours of Thebes: but it proved otherwise, for their force was now so great, that all such occasions did only serve to increase their honour and puissance.

SECT. II.

How Sparta and Athens entered into war.

NEVERTHELESS many estates of Greece were very ill affected to Athens, because that city grew very insolent upon sudden prosperity, and maintaining the weaker towns against the stronger, encroached apace upon their neighbours, taking their dependants from them. Especially the Corinthians were much enraged, because the people of the island Corcyra, their colony, which had rebelled against them, and given them a great overthrow by sea, was by the Athenians (who desired to increase their fleet by adjoining that of Corcyra unto it) taken into protection, and the Corinthians thereby impeached of that revenge which else they would have taken. Now, howsoever it were so, that these dealings of the Athenians were not directly against the conditions of peace agreed upon among the Greeks, yet were the complaints made at Sparta so vehement, that (though with much ado) they concluded to redress by war the injuries done to their allies.

First therefore seeking religious pretences, they required the Athenians to expiate certain offences committed against the gods; whereto having for answer, that they themselves should expiate other the like offences committed in Sparta, they began to deal plainly, and required that the people of some towns, oppressed by the estate of Athens, should be set at liberty; and that a decree made against those of Megara, whereby they were forbidden to enter any port of the Athenians, should be reversed. This last point they so earnestly pressed, that if they might obtain it, they promised to absist from their purpose of making war.

This they desired, not as a matter of any great importance, (for it was a trifle,) but only that by seeming to have obtained somewhat, they might preserve their reputation

without entering into a war, which threatened them with greater difficulties apparent than they were very willing to undergo.

But the Athenians would yield to nothing; for it was their whole desire that all Greece should take notice, how far they were from fear of any other city. Hereupon they prepared on both sides very strongly all that was needful to the war, wherein the Lacedæmonians were superior, both in number and quality, being assisted by most of the cities in Greece, and having the general favour, as men that pretended to set at liberty such as were oppressed; but the Athenians did as far exceed them in all provisions, of money, shipping, engines, and absolute power of command among their subjects; which they held, and afterwards found of greater use in such need, than the willing readiness of friends, who soon grow weary, and are not easily assembled.

SECT. III.

The beginning of the Peloponnesian war.

THE first and second years expedition was very grievous to the city of Athens. For the fields were wasted, the trees cut down, the country people driven to fly with their wives, children, and cattle into the town, whereby a most furious pestilence grew in the city, such as before they had neither felt nor heard of. Hereunto was added the revolt of the Mytilenians in the isle of Lesbos, and the siege of Platæa their confederated city, which they durst not adventure to raise, besides some small overthrows received. The Lacedæmonians, assembling as great forces as they could raise out of Peloponnesus, did in the beginning of summer enter the country of Attica, and therein abide, until victuals began to fail, wasting and destroying all things round about. The governors of the Athenians would not suffer the people to issue into the field against them, for they knew the valour of their enemies, but used to send a fleet into Peloponnesus, which wasted as fast all the sea-coast of their enemies, whilst they were making war in Attica. So the Peloponnesians, being the stronger by land,

won the town of Platæa, which wanted rescue; the Athenians likewise, being more mighty by sea, did subdue Mytilene, which had rebelled, but could not be succoured from Sparta. By these proceedings in that war, the Lacedæmonians began to perceive how unfit they were to deal with such enemies: for after that Attica was throughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to do any offence equal to such harm as they themselves might and did receive. Their confederates began to set forward very slowly in their expeditions into Attica, perceiving well, that Athens was plentifully relieved with all necessaries which came by sea from the islands that were subject unto that estate, and therefore these invaders took small pleasure in beholding the walls of that mighty city, or in wasting a forsaken field, which was to them a pattern of the calamities with which their own territory was the whilst afflicted. Wherefore they began to set their care to build a strong navy, wherein they had little good success, being easily vanquished by the Athenians, who both had more and better ships, and were so skilful in sea-fights, that a few vessels of theirs durst undertake a great number of the Peloponnesians.

SECT. IV.

Of the great loss which the Spartans received at Pylus.

AMONG other losses which the Spartans had felt by sea, they received at Pylus a very sore blow, that compelled them to sue for peace. A fleet of Athenian ships bound for Corcyra, wasting in that passage, as their manner was, the coast of Laconia and all the half-isle of Peloponnesus, was by contrary winds detained at Pylus, which is a ragged promontory, joining to the main by a strait neck of land. Before it there lies a small barren island of less than two miles compass, and within that a creek, which is a good harbour for ships, the force of weather being borne off by the headland and isle. This promontory the Athenians fortified, as well as in haste they might, and what was wanting in their artificial fortification was supplied by the natural strength and site of the place. By holding this piece of

ground and haven, they reasonably expected many advantages against their enemies. For the country adjoining was inhabited by the Messenians, who in ancient time had held very strong and cruel war with Sparta, and though quite subdued, they were held in strait subjection, yet was not the old hatred so extinguished, that by the near neighbourhood and assistance of the Athenians it might not be revived. Furthermore, it was thought that many ill-willers to the Lacedæmonians, and as many of their bondslaves as could escape from them, would repair to Pylus, and from thence make daily excursions into Laconia, which was not far off; or, if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this haven, lying almost in the midway between them and Corcyra, make them able to surround all Peloponnesus, and waste it at their pleasure. The news of these doings at Pylus drew the Peloponnesians thither in all haste out of Attica, which they had entered a few days before with their whole army; but now they brought not only their land forces, but all their navy, to recover this piece, which how bad a neighbour it might prove in time, they well foresaw, little fearing the grievous loss at hand, which they there in few days received. For when they in vain made a general assault on all sides, both by sea and land, finding that small garrison which the Athenians had left very resolute in the defence, they occupied the haven, placing four hundred and twenty choice men, all of them citizens of Sparta, in the island before mentioned; at each end whereof is a channel that leads into the port, but so narrow that only two ships in front could enter between the isle and Pylus; likewise but seven or eight ships could enter at once by the further channel, between the island and the main. Having thus taken order to shut up this new town by sea, they sent part of their fleet to fetch wood, and other stuff, wherewith to fortify round about, and block up the piece on all sides. But in the mean season the Athenian fleet, hearing of their danger that were left at Pylus, returned thither, and with great courage entering the haven did break and sink many

of their enemy's vessels; took five, and enforced the residue to run themselves aground.

Now was the town secure, and the Spartans abiding in the island as good as lost: wherefore the magistrates were sent from Sparta to the camp (as was their custom in great dangers) to advise what were best for the public safety; who, when they did perceive that there was no other way to rescue their citizens out of the isle, than by composition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the Athenians about peace, taking truce in the mean while with the captains at Pylus. The conditions of the truce were, that the Lacedæmonians should deliver up all the ships which were in the coast, and that they should attempt nothing against the town, nor the Athenians against the camp: that a certain quantity of bread, wine, and flesh should be daily carried into the isle, but that no ships should pass into the island secretly: that the Athenians should carry the Lacedæmonian ambassadors to Athens, there to treat of peace; and should bring them back, at whose return the truce should end; which if in the mean time it were broken in any one point, should be held utterly void in all: that when the truce was expired, the Athenians should restore the Peloponnesian ships, in as good case as they received them. The ambassadors coming to Athens, were in opinion, that as they themselves had begun the war, so might they end it when they pleased; wherefore they told the Athenians how great an honour it was that the Lacedæmonians did sue to them for peace, advising them to make an end of war, whilst with such reputation they might. But they found all contrary to their expectation: for instead of concluding upon even terms, or desiring of meet recompense for loss sustained, the Athenians demanded certain cities to be restored to them, which had been taken from them by the Lacedæmonians long before this war began; refusing likewise to continue the treaty of peace, unless the Spartans, which were in the isle, were first rendered unto them as prisoners. Thus were the ambassadors re-

turned without effect, at which time the truce being ended, it was desired of the Athenian captains, that they should, according to their covenant, restore the ships which had been put into their hands. Whereto answer was made, that the condition of the truce was, that if any one article were broken, all should be held void. Now (said the Athenians) ye have assaulted our garrisons, and thereby are we acquitted of our promise to restore the ships. This and the like frivolous allegations which they made were but mere shifts; yet profit so far overweighed honour, that better answer none could be got. Then were the Lacedæmonians driven to use many hard means for conveyance of victuals into the isle, which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried prisoners to Athens, where it was decreed, that when the Peloponnesians next invaded Attica, these prisoners should all be slain. Whether fearing the death of these men, or withheld by the troubles which (according to the Athenians' hope) fell upon them, the Lacedæmonians were now so far from wasting Attica, that they suffered their own country to be continually overrun, both by the Athenians, who landed on all parts of their coast, and by those who issued out of Pylus, which became the rendezvous of all that were ill affected unto them.

SECT. V.

How the Lacedæmonians hardly, and to their great disadvantage, obtained a peace that was not well kept.

THEREFORE they endeavoured greatly to obtain peace, which the Athenians would not hearken unto. For they were so puffed up with the continuance of good success, that having sent a few bands of men into Sicily, to hold up a faction there, and make what profit they might of the Sicilians' quarrels; when afterward they heard that the differences in that isle were taken away, and their bands returned without either gain or loss, they banished the captains, as if it had been merely through their default that the isle of Sicily was not conquered, which (besides the longer distance) was in power to offend others or de-

fend itself, no whit inferior unto Peloponnesus. Yet was this their overweening much abated shortly after, by some disasters received, especially in Thrace, where, in a battle which they lost at Amphipolis, Cleon and Brasidas, generals of the Athenian and Lacedæmonian forces, were both slain; which two had most been adversaries to the peace. As the Athenians by their losses were taught moderation, so the Lacedæmonians, who not only felt the like wounds, but through the great navy which they had received at Pylus, were fain to proceed lamely in the war against such as, through commodity of their good fleet, had all advantage that could be found in expedition, were fervently desirous to conclude the business, ere fortune by any new favour should revive the insolence which was at this time well mortified in their enemies. Neither was it only a consideration of their present estate that urged them to bring the treaty of peace to good and speedy effect, but other dangers hanging over their heads, and ready to fall on them, which, unless they compounded with the Athenians, they knew not how to avoid. The estate of Argos, which had ancient enmity with them, was now, after a truce of thirty years well nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their present troubles, by joining with those who alone found them work enough. Argos was a rich and strong city, which, though inferior to Sparta in valour, yet was not so unwarlike, nor held such ill correspondence with the neighbouring estates, that the Lacedæmonians could ever far prevail upon it, when they had little else to do. This was a thing that in the beginning of this war had not been regarded; for it was then thought, that by wasting the territory of Athens with sword and fire, the quarrel should easily and in short time have been ended; whereby not only the Athenians should have been brought to good order, but the Corinthians and others, for whose sake the war was undertaken, have been so firmly knit to the Lacedæmonians, that they should for love of them have abandoned the Argives to their own fortunes. But now the vanity of those hopes appeared, in that the Athenians, abounding in ready

money, and means to raise more, were able to secure themselves by a strong fleet from any great harm that the Peloponnesians, wanting wherewith to maintain a navy, could do unto them; yea, as masters of the sea, to weary them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the confederates of Sparta, they could now endure neither war nor peace, their daily travails and many losses had so wearied and incensed them. Wherefore the Lacedæmonians were glad to use the occasion, which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a final peace, which with much ado they procured, as seemed equal and easy, but was indeed impossible to be performed, and therefore all their travail was little effectual.

The restitution of prisoners and places taken being agreed upon, it fell out by lot that the Lacedæmonians should restore first. These had won more towns upon the continent from the Athenians, than the Athenians had from them; but what they had won, they had not won absolutely. For they had restored some towns to such of their allies from whom the state of Athens had taken them; some, and those the most, they had set at liberty, (as reason required,) which had opened their gates unto them, as to their friends and deliverers, and not compelled them to break in as enemies. Now concerning the towns which were not in their own hands, but had been rendered unto their confederates, the Spartans found means to give some satisfaction, by permitting the Athenians to retain others which they had gotten in the war; as for the rest, they promised more than afterwards they could perform. The cities which they had taken into protection could not endure to hear of being abandoned; neither would they by any means yield themselves into the hands of their old lords the Athenians, whom they had offended by revolting, notwithstanding whatsoever articles were drawn and concluded for their security and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the side of the Spartans made the Athenians become as backward in doing those things which on their part were required; so that restoring only the pri-

soners which they had, they deferred the rest until such time as they might receive the full satisfaction according to the agreement. But before such time as these difficulties brake out into matter of open quarrel, the Lacedæmonians entered into a more strait alliance with the Athenians, making a league offensive and defensive with them. Hereunto they were moved by the backwardness of the Argives, who being (as they thought) likely to have sued for peace at their hands, as soon as things were once compounded between Athens and Sparta, did shew themselves plainly unwilling to give ear to any such motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from Argos all hope of Athenian succour, they should make sure work, the Spartans regarded not the affections of other states, whom they had either bound unto them by well-deserving in the late war, or found so troublesome, that their enmity (if perhaps they durst let it appear) were little worse than friendship. It bred great jealousy in all the cities of Greece, to perceive such a conjunction between two so powerful seigniories, especially one clause threatening every one, that was any thing apt to fear, with a secret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceits of subduing the whole country, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For, besides the other articles, it was agreed that they might by mutual consent add new conditions, or alter the old at their own pleasures. This impression wrought so strongly in the Corinthians, Thebans, and other ancient confederates of Sparta, that the hate which they had borne to the Athenians, their professed enemies, was violently thrown upon the Lacedæmonians, their unjust friends; whereby it came to pass, that they who had lately borne chief sway in Greece might have been abandoned to the discretion of their enemies, as already in effect they were, had the enemies wisely used the advantage.

SECT. VI.

Of the negociations and practices held between many states of Greece, by occasion of the peace that was concluded.

THE admiration wherein all Greece held the valour of

Sparta as unresistible, and able to make way through all impediments, had been so excessive, that when by some sinister accidents that city was compelled to take and seek peace, upon terms not sounding very honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as happens usually in things extreme) was changed into much contempt. For it was never thought that any Lacedæmonian would have endured to lay down his weapons, and yield himself prisoner; nor that any misfortune could have been so great, as should have drawn that city to relieve itself otherwise than by force of arms. But when once it had appeared that many of their citizens, among whom were some of especial mark, being overlaid by enemies in the island before Pylus, had rather chosen to live in captivity than to die in fight; and that Pylus itself, sticking as a thorn in the foot of Laconia, had bred such anguish in that estate, as utterly wearying the accustomed Spartan resolution, had made it sit down, and seek to refresh itself by dishonourable ease; then did not only the Corinthians and Thebans begin to conceive basely of those men which were virtuous, though unfortunate, but other lesser cities, joining with these in the same opinion, did cast their eyes upon the rich and great city of Argos, of whose ability to do much they conceived a strong belief, because of long time it had done nothing. Such is the base condition which through foolish envy is become almost natural in the greater part of mankind. We curiously search into their vices, in whom, had they kept some distance, we should have discerned only the virtues, and comparing injuriously our best parts with their worst, are justly plagued with a false opinion of that good in strangers which we know to be wanting in ourselves.

The first that published their dislike of Sparta were the Corinthians, at whose vehement entreaty (though moved rather by envy at the greatness of Athens daily increasing) the Lacedæmonians had entered into the present war. But these Corinthians did only murmur at the peace, alleging as grievances, that some towns of theirs were left in the Athenians' hands. The Mantinæans, who, during the time

of war, had procured some part of the Arcadians to become their followers, and forsake their dependency upon the state of Sparta, did more freely and readily discover themselves; fear of revenge to come working more effectually than indignation at things already past. The Argives feeling the gale of prosperous fortune that began to fill their sails, prepared themselves to take as much of it as they could stand under, giving for that purpose unto twelve of their citizens a full and absolute commission to make alliance between them and any free cities of Greece, (Athens and Sparta excepted,) without any further trouble of propounding every particular business to the multitude. When the gates of Argos were set thus open to all comers, the Mantinæans began to lead the way, and many cities of Peloponnesus following them entered into this new confederacy, some incited by private respects, others thinking it the wisest way to do as the most did. What inconvenience might arise to them by these courses, the Lacedæmonians easily discerned, and therefore sent ambassadors to stop the matter at Corinth, where they well perceived that the mischief had been hatched. These ambassadors found in the Corinthians a very rough disposition, with a gravity expressing the opinion which they had conceived of their present advantage over Sparta. They had caused all cities which had not entered yet into the alliance with Argos, to send their agents to them, in whose presence they gave audience to the Lacedæmonians; the purport of whose embassy was this: That the Corinthians, without breach of their oath, could not forsake the alliance which they had long since made with Sparta, and that reason did as well bind them to hold themselves contented with the peace lately made, as religion enforced them to continue in their ancient confederacy; forasmuch as it had been agreed between the Spartans and their associates, that the consent of the greater part (which had yielded unto peace with Athens) should bind the lesser number to perform what was concluded, if no divine impediment withstood them. Hereunto the Corinthians made answer, that the Spartans had first begun to do them open

wrong, in concluding the war wherein they had lost many places, without provision of restitution; and that the very clause alleged by the ambassadors did acquit from any necessity of subscribing unto the late peace, forasmuch as they had sworn unto those people whom they persuaded to rebel against Athens, that they would never abandon them, nor willingly suffer them to fall again into the tyrannous hands of the Athenians. Wherefore they held themselves bound, both in reason and religion, to use all means of upholding those, whom by common consent they had taken into protection; for that an oath was no less to be accounted a divine impediment, than were pestilence, tempest, or any the like accident, hindering the performance of things undertaken. As for the alliance with Argos, they said that they would do as they should find cause. Having dismissed the ambassadors with this answer, they made all haste to join themselves with Argos, and caused other states to do the like, so that Sparta and Athens were in a manner left to themselves, the Thebans and Megarians being also upon the point to have entered into this new confederacy. But as the affections were diverse which caused this hasty confluence of sudden friends to Argos, it so likewise came to pass, that the friendship itself, such as it was, had much diversity both of sincerity and of continuance. For some there were that hated or feared the Lacedæmonians, as the Mantinæans and Eleans; these did firmly betake themselves to the Argives, in whom they knew the same affection to be inveterate; others did only hate the peace concluded, and these would rather have followed the Spartans than the Argives in war, yet rather the Argives in war than the Lacedæmonians in peace. Of this number were the Corinthians, who knowing that the Thebans were affected like unto themselves, dealt with them to enter into the society of the Argives, as they had done: but the different forms of government used in Thebes and Argos caused the Thebans to hold rather with Sparta, that was ruled by the principal men, than to incur the danger of innovation, by joining with such as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This business having ill succeeded, the Corinthians began to bethink themselves of their own danger, who had not so much as any truce with Athens, and yet were unprepared for war. They sought therefore to come to some temporary agreement with the Athenians, and hardly obtained it. For the Athenians, who had dealt with all Greece at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment with one city that had shewed against them more stomach than force; but gave them to understand, that they might be safe enough from them, if they would claim the benefit of that alliance which Athens had lately made with Sparta and her dependants; yet finally they granted unto these Corinthians (which were loath to acknowledge themselves dependants of Sparta) the truce that they desired; but into private confederacy they would not admit them, it being an article of the league between them and the Spartans, that the one should not make peace nor war without the other.

Herein, as in many other passages, may clearly be seen the great advantage which absolute lords have, as well in peace as in war, over such as are served by voluntaries. We shall hardly find any one seigniory that hath been so constantly followed as Sparta was by so many states, and some of them little inferior to itself, being all as free: whereas contrariwise, the Athenians had lately, and by compulsive means, gotten their dominion, wherein they demeaned themselves as tyrants. But in performance of conditions agreed upon, the Athenians were able to make their words good, by excluding any state out of their confederacy, and giving up such places as were agreed upon; of which the Lacedæmonians could do neither the one nor the other. For such towns as their old allies had gotten by their means in the late war could not be restored without their consent which had them in present possession; and particularly the town of Panacte, which the Thebans held, could by no means be obtained from them by the Lacedæmonians, (who earnestly desired it, that by restitution thereof unto the Athenians, as earnestly demanding it, themselves might recover Pylus,) unless they would agree to make a private

alliance with Thebes; which thereupon they were constrained to do, though knowing it to be contrary to the last agreement between them and Athens.

The Lacedæmonians having broken one article of the league made between them and the Athenians, that by so doing they might enable themselves to the performance of another, were shamefully disappointed of their hopes by the Thebans, who did not give up the town of Panacte, till first they had utterly demolished it, and made it of no worth to the Athenians. This was sought to have been excused by the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, who coming to Athens, (whither they had sent home all prisoners that had been detained at Thebes,) hoped with gentle words to salve the matter, saying, that from henceforth no enemy to Athens should nestle in Panacte, for it was destroyed. But these ambassadors had not to deal with tame fools; for the Athenians told them in plain terms, that of three principal conditions agreed upon in their late league, they had not performed any one, but used such base collusion as stood not with their honour; having made private alliance with the Thebans; having destroyed a town that they should have restored; and not having forced their dependants by war to make good the covenants of the late concluded peace. Hereupon they dismissed the ambassadors with rough words, meaning with as rough deeds to anger those that sent them.

There were at that time both in Athens and Sparta many that were ill contented with the peace; among whom were the ephori, chosen for that year, in Sparta, and Alcibiades, a powerful young gentleman in Athens. But the ephori, though desiring to renew the war, yet wished that first they might get from the Athenians as much as was to be rendered to them by covenant, especially Pylus, that had so sorely troubled them. Alcibiades, whose nobility, riches, and favour with the people made him desire war, as the means whereby himself might procure some honourable employment, used all means to set the quarrel on foot, whilst the

Athenians had yet both advantage enough, as not having rendered ought save their prisoners, and pretence enough to use that advantage of breaking the peace, by reason that the Lacedæmonians (though indeed against their wills) had broken all covenants with them. Now the state of Athens had fully determined to retain Pylus, and to perform nothing that the Lacedæmonians should and might require, until they had first, without any longer halting, fulfilled all articles whereunto they were bound, even to the utmost point. This was enough to make them sweat, who having already done the most that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompense, except the delivery of their citizens which were prisoners. But Alcibiades wishing a speedy beginning of open war, sent privily to the Argives, and gave them to understand how fitly the time served for them to associate themselves with Athens, which was enough to give them security against all enemies.

The Argives, upon the first confluence of many estates unto their society, had embraced great hopes of working wonders, as if they should have had the conduct of all Greece against the Athenians, robbing Sparta of that honour, as having ill used it, and thereby leaving their old enemies in case of much contempt and disability. But these sudden apprehensions of vain joy were suddenly changed into as vain fear, which ill agreed with the great opinion that had lately been conceived of Argos. For when the Thebans had refused their alliance, when the Corinthians had sought security from Athens, and when a false rumour was noised abroad, that Athens, Thebes, and Sparta were come to a full agreement upon all points of difference, then began the Argives to let fall their crests, and sue for peace unto the Lacedæmonians, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their gravity, and were not over-hasty to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the message of Alcibiades came very welcome to the Argives, which were not now consulting how to become the chief of all others, but how to save themselves. Wherefore they sent away pre-

sently to Athens their own ambassadors, accompanied with the Mantinæans and Eleans, to make a league offensive and defensive between their estates and the Athenians.

Of this business the Lacedæmonians knew not what to think; for well they saw that such a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were desirous to prevent it; but to keep the love of the Athenians, the new ephori thought that more was already done than stood with their honour or profit; others held it the wisest way, having done so much, not to stick upon a little more, but rather by giving full satisfaction to retain the friendship of that state, which was more to be valued than all the rest of Greece. This resolution prevailing, they sent away such of their citizens as were best affected to the peace; who coming to Athens with full commission to make an end of all controversies, did earnestly labour in the council-house to make the truth of things appear, saying, that their confederacy with the Thebans had tended to none other end than the recovery of Panacte; concerning which town, or any other business, that it much grieved the Lacedæmonians to see things fall out in such wise as might give to the Athenians cause of displeasure; but that all should be done which in reason might be required for making matters even between them, to which purpose they shewed that themselves had absolute commission. Wherefore they desired that Pylus might be restored unto them, and, especially for the present, that the negociation with the Argives might be called aside. Favourable audience was given to this proposition, the rather, because they which promised amends had power to make their words good. But all this fair likelihood of good agreement was dashed on the sudden by the practice of Alcibiades, who secretly dealing with the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, persuaded them well of his friendship towards their city, and advised them to take all care, that their absolute power to conclude what they pleased in the name of Sparta might not be known to the commonalty of Athens, lest the insolent multitude should thereupon grow peremptory, and yield to nothing, unless they could draw them to

unreasonable conditions. The ambassadors believed him, and fashioned their tale in the assembly of the people as he had advised them. Hereupon the same Alcibiades, taking presently the advantage which their double-dealing afforded, inveighed openly against them, as men of no sincerity, that were come to Athens for none other purpose, than to hinder the people from strengthening themselves with friends, meaning to draw the Argives and their adherents to their own alliance, as (contrary to their oath) already they had the Thebans. The people of Athens, whom a pleasing errand would hardly have satisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the Lacedæmonians, (whose honest meanings had so ill been seconded with good performance,) were now so incensed with the double-dealing of the ambassadors and the strong persuasions of Alcibiades, that little wanted of concluding the league with Argos. Yet for the present so far did Nicias, an honourable citizen and great friend to the peace, prevail with them, that the business was put off, till he himself with other ambassadors might fetch a better answer from Sparta.

It may seem a great wonder how so poor a trick of Alcibiades was able to carry a matter of such importance, when the Spartan ambassadors might have cast the load upon his own shoulders, by discovering the truth. But the gravity which was usually found in the Lacedæmonians, hindered them (perhaps) from playing their game handsomely against so nimble a wit; and they might well have been thought untrusty men, had they professed themselves such as would say and unsay for their most advantage.

Nicias and his companions had a sour message to deliver at Sparta, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions; and among the rest, that the Lacedæmonians should take the pains to rebuild Panacte, and should immediately renounce their alliance made with the Thebans, letting them understand, that otherwise the Athenians, without further delay, would enter into confederacy with the Argives and their adherents. The ephori at Sparta had no mind to forsake the Thebans, assured friends to their

state, but wrought so hard, that the anger of the Athenians was suffered to break out what way it could, which to mitigate they would do no more, than only (at the request of Nicias their honourable friend, who would not seem to have effected nothing) swear anew to keep the articles of the league between them and Athens. Immediately therefore upon return of the ambassadors, a new league was made between the Athenians, Argives, Mantinæans, and Eleans, with very ample provision for holding the same common friends and enemies; wherein though the Lacedæmonians were passed over with silence, yet was it manifest that the whole intent of this confederacy did bend itself chiefly against them, as in short while after was proved by effect.

At this time the Lacedæmonians were in ill case, who having restored all that they could unto the Athenians, and procured others to do the like, had themselves recovered nothing of their own (prisoners excepted) for default of restoring all that they should. But that which did most of all disable them was the loss of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late war by misfortunes, than in sundry passages between them and the Athenians; to procure and keep whose amity they had left sundry of their old friends to shift for themselves. Contrariwise, the Athenians, by the treaty of peace, had recovered the most of that which they lost in war; all their gettings they had retained, and were strengthened by the access of new confederates.

SECT. VII.

How the peace between Athens and Sparta was ill kept, though not openly broken.

IT was not long ere the Argives and their fellows had found business wherewith to set the Athenians on work, and make use of this conjunction. For, presuming upon the strength of their side, they began to meddle with the Epidaurians, whom it concerned the state of Sparta to defend. So, many acts of hostility were committed, wherein Athens and Sparta did not (as principals) infest each the

other, but came in collaterally, as to the aid of their several friends.

By these occasions the Corinthians, Bœotians, Phocians, Locrians, and other people of Greece, began anew to range themselves under the Lacedæmonians, and follow their ensigns. One victory, which the Lacedæmonians obtained by their mere valour in a set battle near to Mantinæa against the Argive side, helped well to repair their decayed reputation, though otherwise it yielded them no great profit. The civil dissension, arising shortly after within Argos itself, between the principal citizens and the commons, had almost thrown down the whole frame of the new combination. For the chief citizens getting the upper hand, made a league with Sparta, wherein they proceeded so far as to renounce the amity of the Athenians in express words, and forced the Mantinæans to the like. But in short space of time the multitude prevailing, reversed all this, and having chased away their ambitious nobility, applied themselves to the Athenians as closely as before.

Besides these uproars in Peloponnesus, many essays were made to raise up troubles in all parts of Greece, and likewise in Macedon, to the Athenians; whose forces and readiness for execution prevented some things, revenged other, and requited all with some prosperous attempts. Finally, the Athenians wanting matter of quarrel, and the Lacedæmonians growing weary, they began to be quiet, retaining still that enmity in their hearts, which they had sufficiently discovered in effects, though not as yet breaking out into terms of open war.

SECT. VIII.

The Athenians, sending two fleets to sack Syracuse, are put to flight, and utterly discomfited.

DURING this intermission of open war, the Athenians reentertained their hopes of subduing Sicil, whither they sent a fleet so mighty as never was set forth by Greece in any age before or after.

This fleet was very well manned, and furnished with all

necessaries to so great an expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in Athens, whence Alcibiades, author of that voyage, and one of the generals of their fleet, was driven to banish himself, for fear of such judgment as else he was like to have undergone among the incensed people; partly by the invasion which the Lacedæmonians made upon Attica, whilst the forces of that state were so far from home. Hereunto was added the aid of the king of Persia, who supplied the Peloponnesians with money.

Neither was the success of things in Sicilia such as without help from Athens could give any likelihood of a good end in that war. For although in the beginning the enterprise had so well succeeded, that they besieged Syracuse, the chief city of the island, and one of the fairest towns which the Greeks inhabited, obtaining the better in sundry battles by land and sea; yet when the town was relieved with strong aid from Peloponnesus, it came to pass that the Athenians were put to the worse on all sides, in such wise that their fleet was shut up into the haven of Syracuse, and could not issue out.

As the Athenian affairs went very ill in Sicil, so did they at home stand upon hard terms, for that the Lacedæmonians, who had been formerly accustomed to make wearisome yearly journeys into Attica, which having pilled and foraged they returned home, did now by counsel of Alcibiades (who seeking revenge upon his own citizens was fled unto them) fortify the town of Decelea, which was near to Athens, whence they ceased not with daily excursions to harry all the country round about, and sometimes give alarm unto the city itself.

In these extremities, the perverse obstinacy of the Athenians was very strange, who leaving at their backs, and at their own doors, an enemy little less mighty than themselves, did yet send forth another fleet into Sicil, to invade a people no less puissant, which never had offended them.

It often happens that prosperous event makes foolish counsel seem wiser than it was, which came to pass many

times among the Athenians, whose vain conceits Pallas was said to turn unto the best. But where unsound advice, finding bad proof, is obstinately pursued, neither Pallas nor Fortune can be justly blamed for a miserable issue. This second fleet of the Athenians, which better might have served to convey home the former that was defeated, after some attempts made to small purpose against the Syracusans, was finally (together with the other part of the navy, which was there before) quite vanquished and barred up into the haven of Syracuse, whereby the camp of the Athenians, utterly deprived of all benefit by sea, either for succour or departure, was driven to break up and fly away by land, in which flight they were overtaken, routed, and quite overthrown in such wise that scarce any man escaped.

This mischief well deservedly fell upon the Athenians, who had wickedly condemned into exile Sophocles and Phthiodorus, generals, formerly sent into that isle, pretending that they had taken money for making peace in Sicil, whereas indeed there was not any means or possibility to have made war. Hereby it came to pass that Nicias, who had the chief command in this unhappy enterprise, did rather choose to hazard the ruin of his country by the loss of that army, wherein consisted little less than all the power of Athens, than to adventure his own estate, his life, and his honour, upon the tongues of shameless accusers, and the sentence of judges before his trial resolved to condemn him, by retiring from Syracuse, when wisdom and necessity required it. "For," said he, "they shall give sentence upon "us, who know not the reason of our doings, nor will give "ear to any that would speak in our behalf, but altoge- "ther hearken to suspicious and vain rumours that shall be "brought against us; yea, these our soldiers who now are "so desirous to return in safety, will in our danger be well "contented to frame their tales to the pleasure of the lewd "and insolent multitude."

This resolution of Nicias, though it cannot be commended, (for it is the part of an honest and valiant man to do what reason willeth, not what opinion expecteth, and to

measure honour or dishonour by the assurance of his well-informed conscience, rather than by the malicious report and censure of others,) yet it may be excused, since he had before his eyes the injustice of his people, and had well understood that a wicked sentence is infinitely worse than a wicked fact, as being held a precedent and pattern whereby oppression beginning upon one, is extended as warrantable upon all. Therefore his fear of wrongful condemnation was such, as a constant man could not easily have overmastered; but when afterwards the army having no other expectation of safety than the faint hope of a secret flight, he was so terrified with an eclipse of the moon, happening when they were about to dislodge, that he would not consent to have the camp break up till seven and twenty days were past. His timorousness was even as foolish and ridiculous as the issue of it was lamentable. For he should not have thought that the power of the heavens, and the course of nature, would be as unjust as his Athenians, or might pretend less evil to the slothful, than to such as did their best. Neither do I think that any astrologer can allege this eclipse, as either a cause or prognostication of that army's destruction, otherwise than as the folly of men did, by application, turn it to their own confusion. Had C. Cassius the Roman, he who slew Julius Cæsar, imitated this superstition of Nicias, he had surely found the same fortune in a case very like. But when he retiring, the broken remainder of Crassus's army defeated by the Parthian archers, was advised, upon such an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the sun were past the sign of Scorpio, he made answer, that he stood not in such fear of Scorpio as of Sagittarius. So adventuring rather to abide the frowning of the heavens, than the nearer danger of enemies upon earth, he made such a safe and honourable retreat, as did both shew his noble resolution, and give a fair example to that good rule,

——— *Sapiens dominabitur astris.*

Thus we see that God, who ordinarily works by a concatenation of means, deprives the governors of understanding when he intends evil to the multitude; and that the wick-

edness of unjust men is the ready mean to weaken the virtue of those who might have done them good.

SECT. IX.

Of the troubles whereinto the state of Athens fell after the great loss of the fleet and army in Sicilia.

THE loss of this army was the ruin of the Athenian dominion, and may be well accounted a very little less calamity to that estate than was the subversion of the walls, when the city, about seven years after, was taken by Lysander. For now began the subjects of the Athenian estate to rebel, of whom, some they reduced under their obedience, others held out; some, for fear of greater inconvenience, were set at liberty, promising only to be their good friends, as formerly they had been their subjects; others, having a kind of liberty offered by the Athenians, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect liberty by force. Among these troubles, it fell out very unseasonably, that the principal men of Athens, being wearied with the people's insolency, took upon them to change the form of that estate, and bring the government into the hands of a few. To which purpose, conspiring with the captains which were abroad, they caused them to set up the form of an aristocraty in the towns of their confederates; and in the mean time, some that were most likely to withstand this innovation being slain at Athens, the commonalty were so dismayed that none durst speak against the conspirators, whose number they knew not, but every man was afraid of his neighbour, lest he should be a member of the league. In this general fear, the majesty of Athens was usurped by four hundred men, who observing in show the ancient form of proceeding, did cause all matters to be propounded unto the people, and concluded upon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were only such as were first allowed in private among themselves; neither had the commonalty any other liberty, than only to approve and give consent; for whosoever presumed any further was quickly despatched out of the way, and no in-

quiry made of the murder. By these means were many decrees made, all tending to the establishment of this new authority, which nevertheless endured not long. For the fleet and army which then was at the isle of Samos, did altogether detest these dealings of the four hundred usurpers, and held them as enemies; whereupon they revoked Alcibiades out of banishment, and by his assistance procured that the supplies, which the Persian king had promised unto the Lacedæmonians, were by Tissaphernes' lieutenant made unprofitable, through the slow and bad performance. Alcibiades had at the first been very well entertained in Sparta, whilst his service done to that state was not grown to be the object of envy. But when it appeared that in counsel and good performance he so far excelled all the Lacedæmonians, that all their good success was ascribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principal citizens weary of his virtue, especially Agis one of their kings, whose wife had so far yielded herself to the love of this Athenian, that among her inward friends she could not forbear to call her young child by his name. Hereupon order was taken that Alcibiades should be killed out of the way. But he discovering the Spartan treachery, conveyed himself unto Tissaphernes, whom he so bewitched with his great beauty, sweet conversation, and sound wit, that he soon became the master of that barbarous viceroy's affections, who had free power to dispose the great king's treasures and forces in those parts. Then began he to advise Tissaphernes not so far forth to assist the Lacedæmonians that they should quite overthrow the state of Athens, but rather to help the weaker side, and let them one consume another, whereby all should fall at length into the hands of the Persian. By this counsel he made way to other practices, wherein by strength of his reputation (as the only favourite of so great a potentate) he played his own game, procuring his restitution. At length his banishment being repealed by the army, but not by the citizens, (who then were oppressed by the four hundred,) he laboured greatly to reconcile the soldiers to the governors, or at least to divert their heat an-

other way, and turn it upon the common enemy. Some of the four hundred approved his motion, as being weary of the tyranny whereof they were partakers, partly because they saw it could not long endure, and partly for that themselves, being less regarded by the rest of their companions than stood with their good liking, sought to acquit themselves of it as honestly as they might. But the most of that faction laboured to obtain peace of the Lacedæmonians, desiring chiefly to maintain both their own authority and the greatness of their city, if they might; but if this could not be, they did rather wish to preserve their own power, or safety at least, than the good estate of the commonwealth. Therefore they made sundry overtures of peace to the Lacedæmonians, desiring to compound in as good terms as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be trusted than the wavering multitude; especially considering that the city of Sparta was governed by an aristocraty, to which form they had now reduced Athens. All these passages between the four hundred (or the most and chief of them) and the Lacedæmonians were kept as secret as might be. For the city of Athens, hoping, without any great cause, to repair their losses, was not inclined to make composition; from which upon juster ground the enemy was much more averse, trusting well that the discord of the Athenians (not unknown abroad) might yield some fair opportunity to the destruction of itself, which in effect (though not then presently) came to pass. And upon this hope king Agis did sometimes bring his forces from Decelea to Athens, where doing no good, he received some small losses. Likewise the navy of Peloponnesus made show of attempting the city, but seeing no likelihood of success, they bent their course from thence to other places, where they obtained victories, which in the better fortune of the Athenians might more lightly have been regarded than in this their decayed estate. Yet it seems, without any disparagement to their wisdom, they should rather have forborne to present unto the city, or to the countries near adjoining, any terror of the war. For the dissension within the walls might soon have done

more hurt than could be received from the fleet or army without, which indeed gave occasion to set the citizens at unity, though it lasted not very long. The four hundred, by means of these troubles, were fain to resign their authority, which they could not now hold, when the people having taken arms to repel foreign enemies, would not lay them down till they had freed themselves from such as oppressed the state at home. Yet was not this alteration of government a full restitution of the sovereign command unto the people, or whole body of the city, but only to five thousand; which company the four hundred (when their authority began) had pretended to take unto them as assistants; herein seeming to do little wrong or none to the commonalty, who seldom assembled in greater number. But now when the highest power was come indeed into the hands of so many, it was soon agreed that Alcibiades and his companions should be recalled from exile, and that the army at Samos should be requested to undertake the government; which was forthwith reformed according to the soldiers' desire.

SECT. X.

How Alcibiades won many important victories for the Athenians; was recalled from exile, made their general, and again deposed.

THIS establishment of things in the city was accompanied with some good success in the wars. For the Lacedæmonians were about the same time overthrown at sea, in a great battle, by the Athenian fleet which had remained at Samos, to which Alcibiades afterwards joining such forces as he could raise, obtained many victories. Before the town of Abydus, his arrival with eighteen ships gave the honour of a great battle to the Athenians; he overthrew and utterly destroyed the fleet of the Lacedæmonians, commanded by Mindarus, took the towns of Cyzicus and Perinthus, made the Selymbrians ransom their city, and fortified Chrysopolis. Hereupon letters were sent to Sparta, which the Athenians intercepting found to contain the distress of the

army in these few words: "All is lost, Mindarus is slain, "the soldiers want victuals, we know not what to do."

Shortly after this, Alcibiades overthrew the Lacedæmonians in fight by land at Chalcedon, took Selymbria, besieged and won Byzantium, now called Constantinople, which even in those days was a goodly, rich, and very strong city. Hereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made high admiral of all the navy.

But this his honour continued not long; for it was taken from him, and he driven to banish himself again, only because his lieutenant, contrary to the express command of Alcibiades, fighting with the enemies in his absence, had lost a great part of the fleet.

The second banishment of Alcibiades was to the Athenians more harmful than the first; and the loss which thereupon they received, was (though more heavy to them, yet) less to be pitied of others, than that which ensued upon his former exile. For whereas at the first, he had sought revenge upon his own city; now, as inured to adversity, he rather pitied their fury, who in time of such danger had cast out him that should have repaired their weak estate, than sought by procuring or beholding the calamity of his people, to comfort himself after injury received. Before they, who were instituted in the place of Alcibiades, arrived at the fleet, he presented battle to Lysander the Lacedæmonian admiral, who was not so confident upon his former victory as to undertake Alcibiades himself, bringing ships more in number (notwithstanding the former loss of fifteen) than his enemies had, and better ordered than they had been under his lieutenant. But when the decree of the people was published in the navy, then did Alcibiades withdraw himself to a town upon Hellespont, called Bizanthe, where he had built a castle.

SECT. XI.

The battle at Arginusæ, and condemnation of the victorious Athenian captains by the people.

AFTER this time the Athenians, receiving many losses

and discomfitures, were driven to fly into the haven of Mitylene, where they were straitly besieged both by land and sea. For the raising of this siege necessity enforced them to man all their vessels, and to put the uttermost of their forces into the hazard of one battle. This battle was fought at Arginusæ, where Callicratidas, admiral of the Lacedæmonians, losing the honour of the day, preserved his own reputation by dying valiantly in the fight. It might well have been expected, that the ten captains, who jointly had command in chief over the Athenian fleet, should for that good day's service, and so happy a victory, have received great honour of their citizens. But contrariwise they were forthwith called home, and accused, as if wilfully they had suffered many of the citizens, whose ships were broken and sunk, to be cast away, when by appointing some vessels to take them up, they might have saved them from being drowned. Hereto the captains readily made a very just answer; that they pursuing the victory, had left part of the fleet under sufficient men to save those that were wrecked; which if it were not well accomplished, it was because a tempest, arising about the end of the fight, had hindered the performance of that and other their intendments. This excuse availed not; for a lewd fellow was brought forth, who said, that he himself escaping in a meal-tub had been entreated, by those who were in peril of drowning, to desire of the people revenge of their deaths upon the captains. It was very strange, that upon such an accusation, maintained with so slender evidence, men that had well deserved of their country should be overthrown. But their enemies had so incensed the rascal multitude, that no man durst absolve them, save only Socrates the wise and virtuous philosopher, whose voice in this judgment was not regarded. Six of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly escaped drowning, and was with much ado relieved by other vessels in the storm; but the captains which were absent escaped; for when the fury of the people was overpast, this judgment was reversed, and the accusers called into question for having deceived and

perverted the citizens. Thus the Athenians went about to free themselves from the infamy of injustice; but the divine justice was not asleep, nor would be so deluded.

SECT. XII.

The battle at Ægos-Potamos, wherein the whole state of Athens was ruined; with the end of the Peloponnesian war.

THE Peloponnesian fleet under Lysander the year next following, having scoured the Ægean seas, entered Hellespont, where, landing soldiers, it besieged and took the town of Lampsacus. Hereupon all the navy of Athens, being an hundred and fourscore sail, made thither in haste; but finding Lampsacus taken before their coming, they put in at Sestus, where having refreshed themselves, they sailed to the river called Ægos-Potamos, which is (as we might name it) Goat's brook, or the river of the Goat, being on the continent opposite to Lampsacus; and there they cast anchors, not one whole league off from Lysander, who rode at Lampsacus in the harbour. The next day after their arrival they presented fight unto the Peloponnesians, who refused it, whereupon the Athenians returned again to Ægos-Potamos; and thus they continued five days, braving every day the enemy, and returning to their own harbour when it drew towards evening.

The castle of Alcibiades was not far from the navy, and his power in those places was such as might have greatly availed his countrymen, if they could have made use of it. For he had waged mercenaries, and making war in his own name upon some people of the Thracians, had gathered much wealth, and obtained much reputation among them. He, perceiving the disorderly course of the Athenian commanders, repaired unto them, and shewed what great inconvenience might grow, if they did not soon foresee and prevent it. For they lay in a road subject to every weather, neither near enough to any town where they might furnish themselves with necessaries, nor so far off as had been more expedient. Sestus was the next market-town; thither both soldiers and mariners resorted, flocking away from the navy

every day, as soon as they were returned from braving the enemy. Therefore Alcibiades willed them either to lie at Sestus, which was not far off, or at the least to consider better how near the enemy was, whose fear proceeded rather from obedience to his general than from any cowardice. This admonition was so far despised, that some of the commanders willed him to meddle with his own matters, and to remember that his authority was out of date. Had it not been for these opprobrious words, he could (as he told his familiars) have compelled the Lacedæmonians, either to fight upon unequal terms, or utterly to quit their fleet. And like enough it was that he might so have done, by transporting the light-armed Thracians his confederates, and others his followers, over the straits, who assaulting the Peloponnesians by land would either have compelled them to put to sea, or else to leave their ships to the mercy of the Athenians. But finding their acceptance of his good counsel no better than hath been rehearsed, he left them to their fortune, which how evil it would be he did prognosticate.

Lysander all this while defending himself by the advantage of his haven, was not careless in looking into the demeanour of the Athenians. When they departed, his manner was to send forth some of his swiftest vessels after them, who observing their doings, related unto him what they had seen. Therefore understanding in what careless fashion they roamed up and down the country, he kept all his men aboard after their departure; and the fifth day gave especial charge to his scouts, that when they perceived the Athenians disembarking, as their custom was, and walking towards Sestus, they should forthwith return, and hang up a brasen shield in the prow as a token for him to weigh anchor.

The scouts performed their charge, and Lysander being in a readiness, made all speed that strength of oars could give to Ægos-Potamos, where he found very few of his enemies aboard their ships, not many near them, and all in great confusion upon the news of his approach.

Insomuch that the greatest industry which the Athenians then shewed was in the escape of eight or nine ships, which, knowing how much that loss imported, gave over Athens as desperate, and made a long flight unto the isle of Cyprus, all the rest were taken, and such of the soldiers as came in to the rescue cut in pieces. Thus was the war which had lasted seven and twenty years, with variable success, concluded in one hour, and the glory of Athens in such wise eclipsed, that she never afterward shone again in her perfect light.

Immediately upon this victory, Lysander, having taken in such towns as readily did yield upon the first fame of his exploit, set sail for Athens, and joining his forces with those of Agis and Pausanias, kings of Sparta, summoned the city, which finding too stubborn to yield, and too strong to be won on the sudden, he put forth again to sea; and rather by terror than violence compelling all the islands, and such towns of the Ionians as had formerly held of the Athenians, to submit themselves to Sparta, he did thereby cut off all provision of victuals and other necessaries from the city, and enforced the people by mere famine to yield to these conditions: That the long walls, leading from the town to the port, should be thrown down; that all cities subject to their estate should be set at liberty; that the Athenians should be masters only of their own territories, and the fields adjoining to their town, and that they should keep no more than twelve ships; that they should hold as friends or enemies the same whom the Lacedæmonians did, and follow the Lacedæmonians as leaders in the wars.

These articles being agreed upon, the walls were thrown down with great rejoicing of those who had borne displeasure to Athens; and not without some consultation of destroying the city, and laying waste the land about it. Which advice, although it was not entertained, yet were thirty governors, or rather cruel tyrants, appointed over the people, who recompensed their former insolency and injustice over their captains, by oppressing them with all base and intolerable slavery.

The only small hope then remaining to the Athenians was, that Alcibiades might perhaps repair what their own folly had ruined. But the thirty tyrants perceiving this, advertised the Lacedæmonians thereof, who contrived, and (as now domineering in every quarter) soon effected his sudden death.

Such end had the Peloponnesian war. After which, the Lacedæmonians, abusing the reputation and great power which therein they had obtained, grew very odious to all Greece, and by combination of many cities against them were dispossessed of their high authority, even in that very age in which they had subdued Athens. The greatest foil that they took was of the Thebans, led by Epaminondas, under whom Philip of Macedon, father to Alexander the Great, had the best of his education. By these Thebans the city of Sparta (besides other great losses received) was sundry times in danger of being taken. But these haughty attempts of the Thebans came finally to nothing; for the several estates and seigniories of Greece were grown so jealous one of another's greatness, that the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, Argives, and Thebans, which were the mightiest, associating themselves with the weaker party, did so counterpoise the stronger, that no one city could extend the limits of her jurisdiction so far as might make her terrible to her neighbours. And thus all parts of the country remained rather evenly balanced than well agreeing, till such time as Philip, and after him Alexander, kings of Macedon, (whose forefathers had been dependants and followers, yea almost mere vassals to the estates of Athens and Sparta,) found means, by making use of their factions, to bring them all into servitude, from which they never could be free, till the Romans, presenting them with a show of liberty, did themselves indeed become their masters.

CHAP. IX.

Of matters concurring with the Peloponnesian war, or shortly following it.

SECT. I.

How the affairs of Persia stood in these times.

DURING the times of this Peloponnesian war, and those other less expeditions foregoing it, Artaxerxes Longimanus, having peaceably enjoyed a long reign over the Persians, left it by his death either to Darius, who was called Darius Nothus, or the Bastard, whom the Greek historians (lightly passing over Xerxes the second, and Sogdianus, as usurpers, and for their short reign little to be regarded) place next unto him, or to Xerxes the second, who, and his brother Sogdianus after him, (seeming to have been the sons of Hester,) held the kingdom but one year between them, the younger succeeding his elder brother. It is not my purpose (as I have said before) to pursue the history of the Persians from henceforth, by rehearsal of all the particulars, otherwise than as they shall be incident to the affairs of Greece. It may therefore suffice to say, that Xerxes the second, being a vicious prince, did perish after a month or two, if not by surfeit, then by treachery of his as riotous brother Sogdianus. Likewise of Sogdianus it is found, that being as ill as his brother, and more cruel, he slew unjustly Bagorazus a principal eunuch, and would have done as much to his brother Darius the Bastard, had not he foreseen it, and by raising a stronger army than this hated king Sogdianus could levy, seized at once upon the king and kingdom. Darius, having slain his brother, held the empire nineteen years. Amyrtæus of Sais, an Egyptian, rebelled against him, and having partly slain, partly chased out of the land the Persian garrisons, allied himself so firmly with the Greeks, that by their aid he maintained the kingdom, and delivered it over to his posterity, who (notwithstanding the fury of their civil wars) maintained it against the Persian all the days of this Darius and of his son Artaxerxes

Mnemon. Likewise Amorges, a subject of his own, and of the royal blood, being lieutenant of Caria, rebelled against him, confederating himself with the Athenians. But the great calamity before spoken of, which fell upon the Athenians in Sicil, having put new life into the Spartans, and given courage to the islanders and others, subject to the state of Athens, to shake off the yoke of their long continued bondage; it fell out well for Darius, that the Lacedæmonians being destitute of money wherewith to defray the charge of a great navy, without which it was impossible to advance the war against the state of Athens, that remained powerful by sea, were driven to crave his assistance, which he granted unto them, first upon what conditions best pleased himself, though afterwards the articles of the league between him and them were set down in more precise terms, wherein it was concluded, that he and they should make war jointly upon the Athenians, and upon all that should rebel from either of them, and (which was highly to the king's honour and profit) that all the cities of Asia, which had formerly been his, or his predecessors, should return to his obedience. By this treaty, and the war ensuing, (of which I have already spoken,) he recovered all that his grandfather and father had lost in Asia. Likewise by assistance of the Lacedæmonians he got Amorges alive into his hands, who was taken in the city of Iasus, the Athenians wanting either force or courage to succour him. Nevertheless Egypt still held out against him; the cause whereof cannot be the employment of the Persian forces on the parts of Greece, for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occasions, but they wanted manhood, which caused him to fight with gold, which effected for him by soldiers of other nations, and his natural enemies, what the valour of his own subjects was insufficient to perform. Darius had in marriage Parysatis, his own sister, who bare unto him (besides other children) Artaxerxes called Mnemon, that is to say, *the mindful*, or *the remembrer*, who succeeded him in the kingdom; and Cyrus the younger, a prince of singular virtue, and accounted by all

that knew him the most excellent man that ever Persia bred after Cyrus the Great. But the old king Darius, intending to leave unto his elder son Artaxerxes the inheritance of that great empire, did cast a jealous eye upon the doings of young Cyrus, who, being lieutenant of the Lower Asia, took more upon him than befitted a subject; for which cause his father sent for him, with intent to have taken some very sharp course with him, had not his own death prevented the coming of his younger son, and placed the elder in his throne. Of the war between these brethren, and summarily of Artaxerxes, we shall have occasion to speak somewhat in more convenient place.

SECT. II.

How the thirty tyrants got their dominion in Athens.

I HOLD it in this place most convenient to shew the proceedings of the Greeks, after the subversion of the walls of Athens, which gave end to that war called the Peloponnesian war, but could not free the unhappy country of Greece from civil broils. The thirty governors, commonly called the thirty tyrants of Athens, were chosen at the first by the people to compile a body of their law, and make a collection of such ancient statutes as were meetest to be put in practice; the condition of the city standing as it did in that so sudden alteration. To this charge was annexed the supreme authority, either as a recompense of their labours, or because the necessity of the times did so require it, wherein the law being uncertain, it was fit that such men should give judgment in particular causes, to whose judgment the laws themselves, by which the city was to be ordered, were become subject. But these thirty having so great power in their hands, were more careful to hold it, than to deserve it by faithful execution of that which was committed to them in trust.

Therefore apprehending such troublesome fellows as were odious to the city, though not punishable therefore by law, they condemned them to death; which proceeding was by all men highly approved, who considered their lewd condi-

tions, but did not withal bethink themselves how easy a thing it would be unto these thirty men to take away the lives of innocents, by calling them perturbers of the peace, or what else they listed, when condemnation, without due trial and proof, had been once well allowed. Having thus plausibly entered into a wicked course of government, they thought it best to fortify themselves with a sure guard, ere they brake out into those disorders which they must needs commit for the establishing of their authority. Wherefore despatching two of their own company to Sparta, they informed the Lacedæmonians, that it was the full intent of the thirty to keep the city free from all rebellious motions, to which purpose it behoved them to cut off such as were seditious, and therefore desired the Lacedæmonians to send them a garrison, which they promised at their own cost to maintain. This motion was well approved, and a guard sent, the captain of which was so well entertained by the thirty, that none of their misdeeds could want his high commendations at Sparta. Hereupon the tyrants began to take heart, and looking no more after base and detested persons, invaded the principal men of the city, sending armed men from house to house, who drew out such as were of great reputation, and likely or able to make any head against this wicked form of government; whereby there was such effusion of blood, as to Theramenes (one of the thirty) seemed very horrible, and unable to escape vengeance. His dislike of their proceedings being openly discovered, caused his fellows to bethink themselves, and provide for their own security and his destruction, lest he should make himself a captain of the discontented, (which were almost the whole city,) and redeem his own peace with their ruin. Wherefore they selected three thousand of the citizens, whom they thought meetest, and gave unto them some part of public authority; the rest they disarmed; and having thus increased their own strength, and weakened their opposites, they began afresh to shed the blood, not only of their private enemies, but of such whose money or goods might enrich them, and enable them for the payment of their guard.

And to this purpose they concluded, that every one of them should name one man upon whose goods he should seize, putting the owner to death. But when Theramenes uttered his detestation of so wicked intent, then did Critias, who of all the thirty was most tyrannical, accuse him to the council as a treacherous man, and (whereas one main privilege of the three thousand was, that none of them should suffer death at the appointment of the thirty, but have the accustomed trial) he took upon him to strike out of that number the name of Theramenes, and so reduced him under the trial and sentence of that order. It was well alleged by Theramenes, that his name was not more easy to be blotted out of the catalogue than any other man's, upon which consideration he advised them all to conceive no otherwise of his case than as of their own, who were liable to the same form of proceeding; but (every man choosing rather to preserve his own life by silence, than presently to draw upon himself the danger which as yet concerned him little, and perhaps would never come near him) the tyrants, interpreting silence as consent, condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drink poison.

SECT. III.

The conspiracy against the thirty tyrants, and their deposition.

AFTER the death of Theramenes, the thirty began to use such outrage as excelled their former villainies. For having three thousand (as they thought) firm unto them, they robbed all others without fear or shame, despoiling them of lands and goods, and causing them to fly into banishment for safeguard of their lives. This flight of the citizens procured their liberty, and the general good of the city: for the banished citizens, who were fled to Thebes, entered into consultation, and resolved to hazard their lives in setting free the city of Athens. The very thought of such a practice had been treason at home, which had no other danger abroad than might be found in the execution. Seventy men, or thereabout, were the first undertakers, who, with their captain Thrasybulus, took Phyla, a place

of strength in the territory of Athens. No sooner did the thirty hear of their exploit, than seek means to prevent further danger, assembling the three thousand and their Lacedæmonian guard, with which force they attempted Phyla, but were with some loss of their men repelled. Finding the place too strong to be taken by assault, they intended to besiege it; which purpose came to nought by means of snow that fell, and other stormy weather, against which they had not made provision. Retiring therefore to the city, which above all they were to make good, they left the most of their guard, and two companies of horse, to weary out them which lay in Phyla, with a flying siege. But it was not long ere the followers of Thrasybulus were increased from seventy to seven hundred, which adventured to give charge upon those guards, of whom they cut off above an hundred and twenty. These small but prosperous beginnings added more to the number of those in Phyla, who now with a thousand men got entrance into Piræus, the suburb of Athens, lying on the port. Before their coming, the thirty had resolved to fortify the town of Eleusine to their own use, whereinto they might make an easy retreat, and save themselves from any sudden peril. It may well seem strange, that whereas their barbarous manner of government had brought them into such danger, they were so far from seeking to obtain men's good will, that, contrariwise, to assure themselves of Eleusine, they got all of the place who could bear arms into their hands by a train, and wickedly (though under form of justice) murdered them all. But, *sceleribus tutum per scelera est iter*, the mischiefs which they had already done were such as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparent likelihood of safety, than by extending their cruelty unto all, seeing few or none were left whom they could trust. When Thrasybulus and his fellows, who as yet were termed conspirators, had taken the Piræus, then were the three thousand armed again by the tyrants, and brought to assault it; but in this enterprise Thrasybulus had the better, and repelled his enemies, of whom although there were

slain to the number of seventy only, yet the victory seemed the greater, because Critias, and one other of the thirty, perished in that fight. The death of Critias, and the stout defence of Piræus, together with some exhortations used by Thrasybulus to the citizens, wrought such effect that the thirty were deposed. Nevertheless there were so many of the three thousand, who, having communicated with the thirty in their misdeeds, feared to be called to a sharp account, that no peace nor quiet form of government could be established. For ambassadors were sent to Sparta, who, craving aid against Thrasybulus and his followers, had favourable audience, and a power sent to their assistance, both by land and sea, under the conduct of Lysander and his brother, whom Pausanias the Spartan king did follow, raising an army of the cities confederate with the Lacedæmonians. And here appeared first the jealousy, wherein some people held the state of Sparta. The Bœotians and Corinthians, who in the late wars had been the most bitter enemies to Athens, refused to follow Pausanias in this expedition, alleging that it stood not with their oaths to make war against that people, who had not hitherto broken any one article of the league; but fearing, indeed, lest the Lacedæmonians should annex the territory of Athens to their own domains. It is not to be doubted that Pausanias took this answer in good part: for it was not his purpose to destroy those against whom he went, but only to cross the proceedings of Lysander, whom he envied. Therefore, having in some small skirmishes against them of Thrasybulus' party made a show of war, he finally wrought such means that all things were compounded quietly; the thirty men, and such others as were like to give cause of tumult, being sent to Sparta. The remainder of that tyrannical faction, having withdrawn themselves to Eleusine, were shortly after found to attempt some innovation, whereupon the whole city rising against them, took their captains, as they were coming to parley, and slew them; which done, to avoid further inconvenience, a law was made that all injuries past should be forgotten, and no man called into question for

wrongs committed. By which order, wisely made and carefully observed, the city returned to her former quietness.

CHAP. X.

Of the expedition of Cyrus the younger.

SECT. I.

The grounds of Cyrus's attempt against his brother.

THE matters of Greece now standing upon such terms that no one estate durst oppose itself against that of Lacedæmon, young Cyrus, brother to Artaxerxes king of Persia, having in his father's lifetime very carefully prosecuted the war against Athens, did send his messengers to Sparta, requesting that their love might appear no less to him, than that which he had shewed towards them in their dangerous war against the Athenians. To this request, being general, the Lacedæmonians gave a suitable answer, commanding their admiral to perform unto Cyrus all service that he should require of him. If Cyrus had plainly discovered himself, and the Lacedæmonians bent their whole power to his assistance, very like it is that either the kingdom of Persia should have been the recompense of his deserts, or that he perishing in battle, as after he did, the subversion of that empire had forthwith ensued. But it pleased God rather to shew unto the Greeks the ways which under the Macedonian ensigns the victorious footsteps of their posterity should measure; and opening unto them the riches, and withal the weakness of the Persian, to kindle in them both desire and hope of that conquest, which he reserved to another generation, than to give into their hands that mighty kingdom, whose hour was not yet come. The love which Parysatis, the queen-mother of Persia, bare unto Cyrus her younger son, being seconded by the earnest favour of the people and ready desires of many principal men, had moved this young prince in his father's old age to aspire after the succession. But being sent for

by his father, (as hath before been shewed,) whose meaning was to curb this ambitious youth, he found his elder brother Artaxerxes established so surely by the old king's favour, that it were not safe to attempt any means of displanting him, by whose disfavour himself might easily lose the place of a viceroy, which he held in Asia the Less, and hardly be able to maintain his own life. The nearest neighbour to Cyrus of all the king's deputies in the Lower Asia was Tissaphernes, a man compounded of cowardice, treachery, craft, and all vices which accustomably branch out of these. This man accompanied Cyrus to his father, using by the way all fair shows of friendship, as to a prince for whom it might well be thought that queen Parysatis had obtained the inheritance of that mighty empire. And it was very true that Parysatis had used the best of her endeavour to that purpose, alleging that (which in former ages had been much available to Xerxes, in the like disceptation with his elder brother) Artaxerxes was born whilst his father was a private man, but Cyrus, when he was a crowned king. All which not sufficing, when the most that could be obtained for Cyrus was the pardon of some presumptuous demeanour, and confirmation of his place in Lydia, and the parts adjoining; then did this Tissaphernes discover his nature, and accuse his friend Cyrus to the new king Artaxerxes of a dangerous treason intended against his person. Upon this accusation, whether true or false, very easily believed, Cyrus was arrested, and by the most vehement entreaty of his mother very hardly delivered, and sent back into his own province.

SECT. II.

The preparations of Cyrus, and his first entry into the war.

THE form of government which the Persian lieutenants used in their several provinces was in many points almost regal. For they made war and peace, as they thought it meet, not only for the king's behoof, but for their own reputation, usually indeed with the king's enemies, yet sometimes one with another; which was the more easily tolerated,

because their own heads were held only at the king's pleasure, which caused them to frame all their doings to his will, whatsoever it were, or they could conjecture it to be. Cyrus therefore being settled in Lydia, began to consider with himself the interest that he had in the kingdom; the small assurance of his brother's love, held only by his mother's intercession; the disgrace endured by his late imprisonment; and the means which he had by love of his own people, and that good neighbourhood of the Lacedæmonians, whom he had bound unto him, to obtain the crown for himself. Neither was it expedient that he should long sit idle, as waiting till occasion should present itself; but rather enterprise somewhat whilst yet his mother lived, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worse than only questionable. Hereupon he first began to quarrel with Tissaphernes, and seized upon many towns of his jurisdiction, annexing them to his own province, which displeased not Artaxerxes at all, who (besides that he was of condition somewhat simple) being truly paid by Cyrus the accustomable tributes out of those places, was well contented to see his brother's hot spirit exercised in private quarrels. But Tissaphernes, whose base conditions were hated, and cowardice despised, although he durst not adventure to take arms against Cyrus, yet perceiving that the Milesians were about to give up themselves into the hands of that young prince, as many other towns of the Ionians had done, thought by terror to preserve his reputation, and keep the towns in his own hands. Wherefore he slew many, and many he banished, who flying to Cyrus were gently entertained, as bringing fair occasion to take arms, which was no small part of his desire. In levying soldiers he used great policy, for he took not only the men of his own province, or of the countries adjoining, whose lives were ready at his will, but secretly he furnished some Grecian captains with money, who being very good men of war, entertained soldiers therewith, some of them warring in Thrace, others in Thessaly, others elsewhere in Greece; but all of them ready to cross the seas at the first call of

Cyrus, till which time they had secret instructions to prolong their several wars, that the soldiers might be held in continual exercise, and ready in arms upon the sudden. Cyrus, having sent a power of men to besiege Miletus, forthwith summoned these bands of the Greeks, who very readily came over to his assistance, being thirteen thousand very firm soldiers, and able to make head (which is almost incredible) against the whole power of Artaxerxes. With this army, and that which he had levied before, he could very easily have forced Miletus, and chased away Tissaphernes out of Asia the Less; but his purpose was not so to lose time in small matters, that was to be employed in the accomplishment of higher designs. Pretending therefore that the Pisidians, a people of Asia the Less, not subject to the Persian, had invaded his territory, he raised the siege of Miletus, and with all speed marched eastward, leaving Tissaphernes much amazed, who had no leisure to rejoice that Cyrus had left him to himself, when he considered that so great an army and so strong was never levied against the rovers of Pisidia, but rather against the great king his master. For which cause, taking a band of five hundred horse, he posted away to carry tidings to the court of this great preparation.

SECT. III.

How Cyrus took his journey into the higher Asia, and came up close to his brother.

THE tumult which his coming brought was very great, and great the exclamations of the queen Statira against Parysatis the queen-mother, whom she called the author and occasioner of the war. But whilst the king in great fear was arming the high countries in his defence, the danger hastened upon him very fast. For Cyrus made great marches, having his numbers much increased by the repair of his countrymen, though most strengthened by the access of seven hundred Greeks, and of other four hundred of the same nation, who revolted unto him from the king. How terrible the Greeks were to the Barbarians, he found by trial in a muster, which (to please the queen of Cilicia, who

had brought him aid) he made in Phrygia, where the Greeks by his direction making offer of a charge upon the rest of his army, which contained a hundred thousand men, the whole camp (not perceiving that this was but a bravery) fled amain, the victuallers and baggagers forsaking their cabins, and running all away for very fear. This was to Cyrus a joyful spectacle, who knew very well that his brother was followed by men of the same temper, and the more unlikely to make resistance, because they were pressed to the war against their will and dispositions, whereas his army was drawn along by mere affection and good-will. Nevertheless he found it a very hard matter to persuade the Greeks to pass the river of Euphrates. For the very length of the way which they had trodden wearied them with conceit of the tedious return. Therefore he was driven, being yet in Cilicia, to seek excuses, telling them that Abrocomas, one of the king's principal captains, and his own great enemy, lay by the river, against whom he requested them to assist him. By such devices, and excessive promise of reward, he brought them to Euphrates, where some of the Greeks considering that whoso passed the river first should have the most thanks, and might safely return, if the rest should refuse to follow them, they entered the fords, whereby were all finally persuaded to do as some had begun, and, being allured by great hopes, they resolved to seek out Artaxerxes wheresoever he was to be found. The king in the mean time having raised an army of nine hundred thousand men, was not so confident upon this huge multitude as to adventure them in trial of a plain battle. Abrocomas, who with three hundred thousand men had undertaken to make good the straits of Syria, which were very narrow, and fortified with a strong wall and other defences of nature and art, which made the place to seem impregnable, had quitted the passage and retired himself toward the king's forces, not daring to look Cyrus in the face, who despairing to find any way by land, had procured the Lacedæmonian fleet, by the benefit whereof to have transported his army. I do not find that this cowardice of

Abrocomas, or of his soldiers, who arrived not at the camp till five days were past after the battle, received either punishment or disgrace; for they, toward whom he withdrew himself, were all made of the same metal.

Therefore Artaxerxes was upon the point of retiring to the uttermost bounds of his kingdom, until by Teribazus, one of his captains, he was persuaded not to abandon so many goodly provinces to the enemy, who would thereby have gathered addition of strength, and (which in the sharp disputation of title to a kingdom is most available) would have grown superior in reputation. By such advice the king resolved upon meeting with his brother, who now began to be secure, being fully persuaded that Artaxerxes would never dare to abide him in the field. For the king having cast up a trench of almost forty miles in length, about thirty foot broad, and eighteen foot deep, intended there to have encamped; but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing so safe as to be far distant from his enemies.

SECT. IV.

The battle between Cyrus and Artaxerxes.

THE army of Cyrus having overcome many difficulties of evil ways and scarcity of victuals, was much encouraged by perceiving this great fear of Artaxerxes, and being past this trench, marched carelessly in great disorder, having bestowed their arms in carts, and upon beasts of carriage, when on the sudden one of their vaunt-couriers brought news of the king's approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themselves, and had ranged their battles in good order upon the side of the river Euphrates, where they waited for the coming of their enemies, whom they saw not till it was afternoon. But when they saw the cloud of dust raised by the feet of that huge multitude which the king drew after him, and perceived by their near approach how well they were marshalled, coming on very orderly, in silence, whereas it had been expected, that rushing violently with loud clamours they should have spent all their

force upon the first brunt; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two armies were so unequal in distent, being all embattled in one body and square, that Cyrus taking his place (as was the Persian manner) in the midst of his own, did not, with the corner and utmost point thereof, reach to the half breadth of Artaxerxes' battle, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of Cyrus; then did the Greeks begin to distrust their own manhood, which was not accustomed to make proof of itself upon such excessive odds. It was almost incredible that so great an army should be so easily chased: nevertheless it quickly appeared, that these Persians, having learned (contrary to their custom) to give charge upon their enemies with silence, had not learned (for it was contrary to their nature) to receive a strong charge with courage. Upon the very first offer of onset made by the Greeks, all that beastly rabble of cowards fled amain, without abiding the stroke, or staying till they were within reach of a dart. The chariots armed with hooks and scythes (whereof Artaxerxes had two hundred, and Cyrus not twenty) did small hurt that day, because the drivers of them, leaping down, fled away on foot. This base demeanour of his enemies gave so much confidence to Cyrus and his followers, that such as were about him forthwith adored him as king. And certainly the title had been assured unto him that day, had not he sought how to declare himself worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For perceiving that Artaxerxes, who found that part of the field which lay before him void, was about to encompass the Greeks, and to set upon them in the rear, he advanced with six hundred horse, and gave so valiant a charge upon a squadron of six thousand which lay before the king, that he brake it, slaying the captain thereof, Artagerses, with his own hands, and putting all the rest to flight. Hereupon his whole company of six hundred, very few excepted, began to follow the chase, leaving Cyrus too ill attended, who perceiving where the king stood in troop, uncertain whether to fight or leave the field, could not contain himself, but said, "I see the man!" and presently

with a small handful of men about him ran upon his brother, whom he strake through the cuirass, and wounded in the breast. Having given this stroke, which was his last, he received immediately the fatal blow, which gave period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded under the eye with a dart thrown by a base fellow, wherewith astonied he fell dead from his horse, or so hurt, that it was unpossible to have recovered him, though all which were with him did their best for his safety; not caring afterwards for their own lives, when once they perceived that Cyrus their master was slain. Artaxerxes caused the head and right hand of his brother to be forthwith stricken off, and shewed to his people, who now pursuing them fled apace, calling upon the name of Cyrus, and desiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the king's troops, and utterly dismayed such Persian captains as were now, even in their own eyes, no better than rebels; it was not long ere the camp of Cyrus was taken, being quite abandoned, from whence Artaxerxes, making all speed, arrived quickly at the quarter of the Greeks, which was about three miles from the place where Cyrus fell. There he met with Tissaphernes, who having made way through the battle of the Greeks, was ready now to join with his master in spoiling their tents. Had not the news which Artaxerxes brought with him of his brother's death been sufficient to countervail all disasters received, the exploit of Tissaphernes in breaking through the Greeks would have yielded little comfort. For Tissaphernes had not slain any one man of the Greeks, but contrariwise, when he gave upon them, they, opening their battle, drave him with great slaughter through them, in such wise that he rather escaped as out of an hard passage, than forced his way through the squadron of the Greeks. Hereof the king being informed by him, and that the Greeks, as masters of the field, gave chase to all that came in their sight; they ranged their companies into good order, and followed after these Greeks, intending to set upon them in the rear. But these good soldiers, perceiving the king's approach,

turned their faces, and made head against him; who not intending to seek honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being pursued unto a certain village that lay under a hill, on the top whereof he made a stand, rather in a bravery than with purpose to attempt upon these bold fellows any further. For he knew well that his brother's death had secured his estate, whom he would seem to have slain with his own hand, thinking that fact alone sufficient to give reputation to his valour; and this reputation he thought that he might now preserve well enough by shewing a manly look half a mile off. On the top of this hill therefore he advanced his standard, a golden eagle displayed on the top of a spear. This ensign might have encouraged his people, had not some of the Greeks espied it, who, not meaning that he should abide so near them, with all their power marched toward him. The king, discovering their approach, fled upon the spur; so that none remained in the place of battle, save only the Greeks, who had lost that day not one man, nor taken any other harm than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondered that they heard no news of Cyrus, but thinking that he was pursuing the army, they thought it was fittest for them, having that day done enough, to return to their quarter and take their supper, to which they had good appetite, because the expectation of the king's coming had given them no leisure to dine.

SECT. V.

The hard estate of the Greeks after the fight; and how Artaxerxes in vain sought to have made them yield unto him.

IT was now about the setting of the sun, and they bringing home dark night with them found their camp spoiled, little or nothing being left that might serve for food; so that wanting victuals to satisfy their hunger, they refreshed their weary bodies with sleep. In the mean season Artaxerxes returning to his camp, which he entered by torchlight, could not enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune entire, because he perceived that the baseness of his people, and weakness of his empire, was now plainly discovered

to the Greeks; which gave him assurance, that if any of these who had beheld the shameful demeanour of his army should live to carry tidings home, it would not be long ere with greater forces they disputed with him for his whole seigniory. Wherefore he resolved to try all means whereby he might bring them to destruction, and not let one escape to carry tidings of that which he had seen: to which purpose he sent them a brave message the next morning, charging them to deliver up their arms and come to his gate, to await there upon his mercy. It seems that he was in good hope to have found their high courages broken, upon report of his brother's death; but he was greatly deceived in that thought. For the Greeks being advertised that morning from Ariæus, a principal commander under Cyrus, that his master being slain, he had retired himself to the place of their last encamping, about eight miles from them, whence intending to return into Ionia his meaning was to dislodge the next day, awaiting for them so long, if they would join with him, but resolving to stay no longer; they sent answer back to Ariæus, that having beaten the king out of the field, and finding none that durst resist them, they would place Ariæus himself in the king's throne, if he would join with them and pursue the victory. Before they received any reply to this answer, the messengers of Artaxerxes arrived at the camp, whose errand seemed to the captains very insolent: one told them that it was not for the vanquishers to yield their weapons; another, that he would die ere he yielded to such a motion; a third asked, whether the king, as having the victory, required their weapons; if so, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he desired them in way of friendship; for then would they first know with what courtesy he meant to requite their kindness. To this question Phalinus a Grecian, waiting upon Tissaphernes, answered, That the king, having slain Cyrus, knew no man that could pretend any title to his kingdom, in the midst whereof he held them fast enclosed with great rivers, being able to bring against them such numbers of men as they wanted strength to kill if

they would hold up their throats, for which cause he accounted them his prisoners. These words, to them who knew themselves to be free, were nothing pleasant: therefore one told Phalinus, that having nothing left but their arms and valour, whilst they kept their arms, their valour would be serviceable; but should they yield them, it was to be doubted that their bodies would not long remain their own. Hereat Phalinus laughed, saying, This young man did seem a philosopher, and made a pretty speech; but that his deep speculation shewed his wits to be very shallow, if he thought with his arms and his valour to prevail against the great king. It seems that Phalinus being a courtier, and employed in a business of importance, thought himself too profound a statesman to be checked in his embassage by a bookish discourser. But his wisdom herein failed him: for whatsoever he himself was, (of whom no more is known than that he brought an unhonest message to his own countrymen, persuading them basely to surrender their weapons and lives to the merciless Barbarians,) this young scholar by him despised was that great Xenophon, who, when all the principal commanders were surprised by treachery of the Persians, being a private gentleman, and having never seen the wars before, undertook the conduct of the army, which he brought safe into Greece, freeing it from all those, and from greater dangers than Phalinus could propound. Some there were who promised to be faithful to the king, as they had been to Cyrus, offering their service in Egypt, where they thought Artaxerxes might have use of them. But the final answer was, that without weapons they could neither do the king good as friends, nor defend themselves from him as enemies. Hereupon Phalinus delivered the king's further pleasure, which was to grant them truce, whilst they abode where they then were, denouncing war if they stirred thence; whereunto he required their answer. Clearchus the general told him they liked it. How (saith Phalinus) must I understand you? As choosing peace, if we stay, otherwise war, said Clearchus. But whether war or peace? quoth this

politic ambassador. To whom Clearchus, (not willing to acquaint him with their purpose,) Let our doings tell you; and so dismissed him no wiser than he came. All that day the Greeks were fain to feed upon their horses, asses, and other beasts, which they roasted with arrows, darts, and wooden targets thrown away by the enemies.

SECT. VI.

How the Greeks began to return homewards.

AT night they took their way towards Ariæus, to whom they came at midnight, being forsaken by four hundred foot, and forty horse, all Thracians, who fled over to the king; by whom how they were entertained I do not find. Like enough it is that they were cut in pieces; for had they been kindly used, it may well be thought that some of them should have accompanied Tissaphernes, and served as stales to draw in the rest. Ariæus being of too base a temper and birth to think upon seeking the kingdom for himself, with such assistance as might have given it unto Cyrus, was very well pleased to make covenant with them for mutual assistance unto the last; whereunto both parts having sworn, he advised them to take another way homeward, which should be somewhat longer, yet safer and fitter to relieve them with victuals than that by which they came. The next day, having made a wearisome march, and tired the soldiers, they found the king's army which had coasted them, lodged in certain villages, where they purposed themselves to have encamped; towards which Clearchus made directly, because he would not seem by declining them to shew fear or weakness. That the king's men were contented to remove, and give place to their betters, it cannot be strange to any that hath considered their former behaviour; nor strange, that the Grecians, being weary and hungry, and lying among enemies in an unknown country, should be very fearful; but it is almost past belief, that the noise which was heard of these poor men, calling one to another tumultuously, as the present condition enforced them to do, should make the Persians fly out of their camp,

and so affright the great king, that instead of demanding their arms, he should crave peace of them. The next day, very early, came messengers from Artaxerxes, desiring free access for ambassadors to entreat of peace. Were it not that such particulars do best open the quality of the persons by whom things were managed, I should hold it fitter to run over the general passages of those times, than to dwell among circumstances. But surely it is a point very remarkable, that when Clearchus had willed the messengers to bid the king prepare for battle, because the Greeks (as he said) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to hear of truce till their bellies were full, Artaxerxes, dissembling the indignity, was contented sweetly to swallow down this pill, sending them guides who conducted them to a place where was plenty of victuals to relieve them.

SECT. VII.

How Tissaphernes, under colour of peace, betrayed all the captains of the Greeks.

HITHERTO the Greeks, relying upon their own virtue, had rather advanced their affairs than brought themselves into any straits or terms of disadvantage. But now came unto them the subtile fox Tissaphernes, who, circumventing the chief commanders by fine sleights, did mischievously entrap them, to the extreme danger of the army. He told them, that his province, lying near unto Greece, had caused him greatly to desire, that their deliverance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come both they, and their countrymen at home, would not be unthankful for such a benefit. Herewithal he forgot not to rehearse the great service that he had done to his master, being the first that advertised him of Cyrus's intent; and having not only brought him a good strength of men, but in the day of battle shewed his face to the Greeks, when all others turned their backs; that he, together with the king, did enter their camp, and gave chase to the Barbarians that stood on the part of Cyrus. All this, quoth he, did I allege to the king, entreating that he

would give me leave to conduct you safe into Greece; in which suit I have good hope to speed, if you will send a mild answer to him, who hath willed me to ask you, for what cause ye have borne arms against him. The captains hearing this, were contented to give gentle words, which Tissaphernes relating to the king, procured (though very hardly, as he said) that peace should be granted; the conditions whereof were, that they should pass freely through all the king's dominions, paying for what they took, and committing no spoil; yet that it should be lawful for them to take victuals by force in any place that refused to afford them an open market. Hereunto both parties having sworn, the league was concluded, and Tissaphernes returning to the king to take leave, and end all business, came unto them again after twenty days, and then they set forward. This interim of twenty days, which Tissaphernes did spend at the court, ministered great occasion of mistrust to his new confederates: for besides his long absence, which alone sufficed to breed doubt, the brethren and kindred of Ariæus, repairing daily to him, and other Persians to his soldiers, did work him and them so with assurance of pardon, and other allurements, that he daily grew more strange to the Greeks than formerly he had been. This caused many to advise Clearchus rather to pass forward as well as he might, than to rely upon covenants, and sit still whilst the king laid snares to entrap them. But he on the contrary persuaded them to rest contented whilst they were well, and not to cast themselves again into those difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late treaty; reciting withal their own wants, and the king's means, but especially the oaths mutually given and taken, wherewith he saw no reason why the enemy should have clogged himself if he meant mischief, having power enough to do them harm by a fair and open war.

Tissaphernes was a very honourable man, (if honour may be valued by greatness and place in court,) which caused his oath to be the more esteemed, forasmuch as no enforcement or base respect was like to have drawn it from

him. But his falsehood was such, both in substance and in success, as may fitly expound that saying, which proceeded from the Fountain of truth, *I hate a rich man a liar*. A lie may find excuse when it grows out of fear; for that passion hath his original from weakness: but when power, which is a character of the Almighty, shall be made the supporter of untruth, the falsehood is most abominable; for the offender, like proud Lucifer, advancing his own strength against the divine justice, doth commit that sin with an high hand, which commonly produceth lamentable effects, and is followed with sure vengeance. It was not long ere Tissaphernes found means to destroy all the captains, whom he subtilly got into his power by a train; making the general Clearchus himself the mean to draw in all the rest. The business was contrived thus: Having travelled some days together in such wise that the Persians did not encamp with the Greeks, who were very jealous of the great familiarity appearing between Tissaphernes and Ariæus, Clearchus thought it convenient to root out of Tissaphernes' brains all causes of distrust, whereof many had grown in that short time. To which purpose obtaining private conference with him, he rehearsed the oath of confederacy which had past between them, shewing how religiously he meant to keep it; and repeating the benefits which the Greeks did receive by the help of Tissaphernes, he promised that their love should appear to him not unfruitful, if he would make use of their service against the Mysians or Pisidians, who were accustomed to infest this province, or against the Egyptians, who were then rebels to the great king. For which cause he desired him, that whereas all divine and human respects had linked them together, he would not give place to any close accusation or suspicion, whereby might grow sudden inconvenience to either of them, upon no just ground. The faithless Persian was very much delighted with this speech, which ministered fair occasion to the execution of his purpose. Therefore he told Clearchus, that all this was by him wisely considered, wishing him further to call to mind how many ways he could

have used to bring them to confusion, without peril to himself, especially by burning the country through which they were to pass, whereby they must needs have perished by mere famine. For which cause he said that it had been great folly, to seek by perjury, odious to God and man, the destruction of such as were already in his hands; but the truth was, that his own love to them had moved him to work their safety, not only for those ends which Clearchus had recounted, of pleasures that might redound to himself and the king by their assistance; but for that he might, by their friendship, hope to obtain what Cyrus had missed. Finally, he invited the credulous gentleman to supper, and sent him away so well assured of his good-will, that he promised to bring all the captains with him to the same place, where, in presence of them all, Tissaphernes likewise promised to tell openly which of them had by secret information sought to raise dissension between them. Clearchus himself being thus deceived, with great importunity drew all the chief commanders, and many of the inferior leaders, to repair with him to the camp of Tissaphernes, whither followed them about two hundred of the common soldiers, as it had been to some common fair. But being there arrived, Clearchus with other the five principal coronels were called into the tent, the rest staying without, where they had not waited long ere a sign was given, upon which they within were apprehended, and the residue slain. Forthwith certain bands of Persian horsemen scoured the field, killing as many Greeks as they met, and riding up to the very camp of the Grecians, who wondered much at the tumult, whereof they knew not the cause, till one, escaping sorely wounded, informed them of all that had been done. Hereupon the Greeks took arms in haste, thinking that the enemy would forthwith have assailed their camp. Anon they might perceive the ambassadors of Tissaphernes, among whom were his own brother, and Ariæus, followed with three hundred horse, who called for the principal men in the army, saying, That they brought a message from the king, which Ariæus delivered to this effect: That Clear-

chus, having broken his faith, and the league made, was justly rewarded with death; that Menon and Proxenus, two other of the five coronels, for detecting his treachery, were highly honoured; and finally, that the king required them to surrender their arms, which were due to him, as having belonged unto his servant Cyrus. When some altercation had followed upon this message, Xenophon told the ambassadors, that if Clearchus had in such sort offended, it was well that he was in such sort punished; but he willed them to send back Menon and Proxenus, whom they had so greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both nations, the Greeks might be advised how to answer the Persian. Hereunto the ambassadors knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed without speaking one word more. Clearchus and the other four were sent to Artaxerxes, by whose commandment their heads were stricken off. I hold it not amiss to prevent the order of time, annexing to this perfidiousness of Tissaphernes the reward which he afterward received. He saw his province wasted by the Greeks, against whom receiving from his master convenient aid of men and money, he did so ill manage his affairs, that neither subtilty nor perjury (to which he failed not to have recourse) availing him; finally, the king was jealous of his cunning head, and sent a new lieutenant into those parts, who took it from his shoulders. Such was the recompense of his treachery, which made him so mistrusted at home, that the service which he could not do, he was thought upon private ends to neglect; and so hated abroad, that he knew not which way to fly from the stroke, all the world being shut against him. But now let us return to the prosperity, wherein he triumphed without great cause, having betrayed braver men than himself, and intending to bring the like mischief upon the whole army.

SECT. VIII.

How Xenophon heartened the Greeks, and in despite of Tissaphernes went off safely.

GREAT was the heaviness of the soldiers, being now

destitute of leaders, and no less their fear of the evil hanging over their heads, which they knew not how to avoid. Among the rest, Xenophon, whose learning supplied his want of experience, finding the deep sadness of the whole army to be such as hindered them from taking any course of preventing the danger at hand, began to advise the under-officers of Proxenus's companies, whose familiar friend he had been, to bethink themselves of some mean whereby their safety might be wrought, and the soldiers encouraged; setting before their eyes whatsoever might serve to give them hope, and above all persuading them in no wise to yield to the mercy of their barbarous enemies.

Hereupon they desired him to take upon him the charge of that regiment; and so, together with him, the same night calling up such as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fittest men to succeed in the places of those who were slain or taken. This being done, and order set down for disburdening the army of all superfluous impediments, they easily comforted themselves for the loss of Tissaphernes' assistance, hoping to take victuals by force better cheap than he had been wont to sell them; to which purpose they intended to take up their lodging two or three miles further, among some plentiful villages, and so to proceed, marching towards the heads of those great rivers which lay in their way, and to pass them where they were fordable. Many attempts were made upon them by Tissaphernes, whom they, serving all on foot, were not able to requite for the harm which they received by the Persian archers, who shot at a further distance than the Greeks could reach. For this cause did Xenophon provide slings, wherewith he overreached the enemy; and finding some horses fit for service, that were employed among the carriages, he set men upon them; training likewise his archers to shoot compass, who had been accustomed to the point-blank. By these means did he bear off the Persians who assailed him; and sometimes gave them chase with that band of fifty horse, which being well backed with a firm body of footmen, and seconded with troops of the light-

armed-shot and slingers, compelled the enemy to lie aloof. Tissaphernes, not daring to come to handygripes with these resolute men, did possess the tops of mountains, and places of advantage, by which they were to pass. But finally, when their valour made way through all such difficulties, he betook himself to that course which was indeed the surest, of burning the country. With great sorrow did the Greeks behold the villages on fire, and thereby all hope of victuals cut off. Some advised to defend the country, as granted by the enemy himself to be theirs; others to make more fires, if so perhaps the Persians might be ashamed to do that which were the desire of such as made passage in hostile manner: but these were faint comforts. The best counsel was, that being near unto the Carduchi, a people enemy to the Persian, they should enter into their country, passing over some high mountains which lay between them. This course they followed, which could not have availed them if Tissaphernes had begun sooner to cut off their victuals, rather than to seek to force, or to circumvent them by his fine wit.

SECT. IX.

The difficulties which the Greek army found in passing through the land of the Carduchi.

ENTERING upon the land of the Carduchi, they were encountered with many difficulties of ways, but much more afflicted by the fierce inhabitants, who, accustomed by force to defend themselves against the huge armies of the Persian, were no way inferior to the Greeks in daring, but only in the art of war. They were very light of foot, skilful archers, and used the sling well; which weapons in that mountainous country were of much use against these poor travellers, afflicting them in seven days, which they spent in that passage, far more than all the power of the great king had done. Between the territory of these Carduchi and the parts of Armenia confining them, ran Centrites, a great river, upon which the Greeks refreshed themselves one day, rejoicing that they had so well escaped these dangers, and hoping that the remainder would prove easy. But the next

morning they saw certain troops of horse that lay to forbid their passage. These were levied by the king's deputies in those parts, Tissaphernes and his companies having taken their way towards Ionia. The river was broad and deep, so that it was not possible for such as would enter it, to make resistance against those which kept the opposite banks. To increase these dangers, the Carduchi, following upon them, lay on the side of a mountain within less than a mile of the water. But it was their good hap to discover a ford, by which the greater number of them passing over did easily chase away the subjects of the Persian, and then, sending back the most expedite men, gave succour to the rearward, against which the Carduchi, being slightly armed, could not on plain ground make resistance hand to hand. These Carduchi seem to have inhabited the mountains of Niphates, which are not far from the spring of Tigris; though Ptolomy place them far more to the east, upon the river of Cyrus in Media, wherein he differs much from Xenophon, whose relation, being grounded upon his own knowledge, doth best in this case deserve credit. Of the river Centrites (as of many other rivers, towns, and places mentioned by Xenophon) I will not labour to make a conjecture which may endure the severity of a critic: for Ptolomy, and the whole nation of geographers, add small light to this expedition; only of this last, I think it the same which falleth into Tigris, not much above Artasigarta, springing out of Niphates, and running by the town of Sardeua in Gordene, a province of Armenia the Great, wherein the Greeks having passed Centrites did arrive.

SECT. X.

How Teribazus, governor of Armenia, seeking to entrap the Greeks with terms of feigned peace, was disappointed and shamefully beaten.

THE army finding in Armenia good provision, marched without any disturbance about fifty or threescore miles to the heads of the river Tigris, and passing over them travelled as far further without resistance, till they were en-

countered by Teribazus at the river Teleboa, which Xenophon commends as a goodly water, though small; but Ptolomy and others omit it. Teribazus governed that country for the Persian, and was in great favour with Artaxerxes, whose court may seem to have been a school where the art of falsehood was taught as wisdom. He desired peace of the Greeks; which was made upon this condition, that they should take what they pleased, but not burn down the towns and villages in their way. As soon as he had made this league, he levied an army, and besetting the straits of certain mountains which they were to pass, hoped well to make such benefit of their security, as might give him the commendations of being no less craftily dishonest than Tissaphernes. Yet his cunning failed of success: for a great snow fell, which caused the Greeks to make many fires, and scatter themselves abroad in the villages. Teribazus also made many fires, and some of his men wandered about seeking relief. By the fires he was discovered, and by a soldier of his, that was taken prisoner, the whole plot was revealed. Hereupon the Greeks, taking this captive with them for a guide, sought him out; and coming upon his camp did so affright him, that before the whole army could arrive there, the shout which was raised by the vauntcouriers, chased him away. They took his pavilion, wherein (besides many slaves that were artificers of voluptuousness) very rich furniture was left by the treacherous coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the army went northward, and passing Euphrates, not far below the springs thereof, travelled with much difficulty through deep snow, being followed aloof by the enemy, who durst not approach them, but did cut off such as they found straggling behind. The inhabitants of the country, through which they marched, had their wintering houses under ground, wherein was found great plenty of victuals, and of cattle, which likewise did winter in the same cellars with the owners. Having refreshed themselves in those parts, and taken sufficient ease after the miserable journey, which had consumed many of them with extreme cold, they de-

parted, leading with them many bondslaves, and taking away (besides other horses and cattle) some colts that were bred up for the great king.

SECT. XI.

The passage of the army to Trabizond, through the countries bordering upon the river of Phasis, and other obscure nations.

SO without impediment they came to the river Phasis, near whereunto the people called Phasiani Taochi and Chalybes were seated. These nations joined together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of mountains, which the Greeks were to pass, made countenance of war; but some companies being sent by night to seize upon a place of equal height to that whereon the enemies lay, making good the piece of ground which they had taken, secured the ascent of the rest; which caused these people to fly, every one retiring to the defence of his own. The first upon whose country the Greeks did enter were the Taochi, who, conveying all their provision of victuals into strong holds, brought the army into much want, until with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great store of cattle were taken; the people, to avoid captivity, threw themselves headlong down the rocks, the very women throwing down first their own children, and then casting themselves upon them. Here was taken a great booty of cattle, which served to feed them travelling through the land of the Chalybes, of whom they got nothing but strokes. The Chalybes were a very stout nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountered the Greeks hand to hand, killing as many as they took prisoners, and cutting off their heads, which they carried away, singing and dancing, to the great grief of their companions living, who were glad, when after seven days' journey they escaped from those continual skirmishes wherewith they had been vexed by these Barbarians. Hence travelling through a good corn country, inhabited by an obscure nation called the Scythini, they came to a rich town, the lord whereof, and of the region adjoining, used them friendly, and promised to guide them to a moun-

tain, whence they might discover the Euxine sea. From Gymnias (which was the name of his town) he led them through the territory of his enemies, desiring them to waste it with sword and fire. After five days' march they came to a mountain called Teches, being (as I think) a part of the mountains called Moschici, whence their guide shewed them the sea, towards which they bent their course, and passing friendly through the region of the Macrones, (with whom by means of an interpreter, found among themselves, who born in that place had been sold into Greece, they made a good peace,) they arrived in the land of Colchos, wherein stands the city of [z]Trabizond, called then Trapezus, a colony of the Greeks. The Colchi entertaining them with hostility were requited with the like; for the army having now good leisure to repose themselves among their friends the Trapezuntians, did spoil the country thirty days together, forbearing only the borderers upon Trabizond, at the citizens' request.

SECT. XII.

How the army began at Trabizond to provide a fleet, wherewith to return home by sea; how it came into the territory of Sinope, and there prosecuted the same purpose to effect.

HAVING now found an haven town, the soldiers were desirous to take shipping, and change their tedious land-journeys into an easy navigation. To which purpose Cherisophus, a Lacedæmonian, one of the principal commanders, promised by means of Anaxibius the Lacedæmonian admiral, who was his friend, that he would provide vessels to embark them. Having thus concluded, they likewise took order for the staying of such ships as should pass that way, meaning to use them for their navigation. Lest all this provision should be found insufficient for the transportation of the whole army, Xenophon persuaded the cities adjoining to clear the ways, and make an easy passage for them by land; whereunto the soldiers were utterly unwilling to give ear, being desirous to return by sea; but the

[z] Trabizond, a colony of the Greeks, situate in the bottom of the Euxine sea.

country, fearing what inconvenience might grow by their long stay, did readily condescend to Xenophon's request. Two ships they borrowed of the Trapezuntians, which they manned and sent to sea; the one of them sailed directly into Greece, forsaking their companions, who had put them in trust to bring ships into the port of Trabizond; the other took merchants and passengers, whose goods were safely kept for the owners, but the vessels were stayed to increase the fleet. After long abode, when victuals began to fail, by reason that all the land of the Colchi near unto the camp was already quite wasted, they were fain to embark their sick men, with the women, children, and such of the baggage as might best be spared, in those few ships which they had already provided. The rest of the army took their way by land to Cerasus, a Greek town, where the fleet likewise arrived. Here the army being mustered was found to consist of eight thousand and six hundred men. From hence they passed through the country of the [a]Mosynœci, who were divided into factions. The stronger party, despising their friendship, caused them to join with the weaker, whom they left masters of all.

The next place of their abode was [b]Cotyora, a Greek town likewise, and a colony of the Sinopians, as Trapezus and Cerasus were; but the entertainment which here they found was very churlish, having neither an open market afforded to them, nor the sick men that were among them admitted into any house. Hereupon the soldiers entered the town by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were sick in convenient lodgings, taking into their own hands the custody of the gates. Provision for the army they made by strong hand, partly out of the territory of the Paphlagonians, partly out of the lands belonging to the town. These news were unwelcome to [c]Sinope, whence ambassadors were sent to the camp, who complaining of these dealings, and threatening to join with the Pa-

[a] Mosynœci, a nation of Pontus Cappadocicus.

[b] Cotyora, a port-town in the same region.

[c] Sinope, a port-town in Leucosyria, a colony of the Milesians.

phlagonians, if redress could not otherwise be had, were roundly answered by Xenophon, That mere necessity had enforced the army to teach those of Cotyora good manners in so bad a method; letting them know, that he feared not to deal with them and the Paphlagonian at once, though perhaps the Paphlagonian would be glad to take Sinope itself, to which, if cause were given, they would lend assistance. Upon this answer the ambassadors grew better advised, promising all friendship that the state of Sinope could shew, and commanding the town of Cotyora to relieve the soldiers as well as they might. Further, they promised to assist them with shipping, letting them understand how difficult the passage by land would prove, in regard of the many and great rivers, as Thermodon, Iris, Halys, and Parthenius, which crossed their way. This good counsel, and the fair promises accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the army, which well perceived that the city of Sinope would spare for no cost to be freed from such a neighbourhood. It was therefore decreed, that they would pass the rest of the way by sea, provided, that if there should want such number of vessels as might serve to embark every one man of them, then would they not put from the shore.

SECT. XIII.

Of dissension which arose in the army, and how it was embarked.

HITHERTO the danger of enemies, and miseries of weather and wants, had kept the company in firm unity, which now began to dissolve and to thaw, by the neighbouring air of Greece warming their heads with private respects to their several ends and purposes. Whilst they who were sent as agents from the camp remained at Sinope, Xenophon, considering the strength and valour of his men, and the opportunity of the coast whereon they lay, thought it would be an honourable work to build a city in those parts, which were soon like to prove great and wealthy, in regard both of their own puissance and of the great repair of the Greeks into that quarter. For this cause he made sacrifice, according to the superstition of his time and coun-

try, divining of his success by the entrails of beasts. The soothsayer whom he employed had received a great reward of Cyrus, for conjecturing aright that Artaxerxes would not give battle in ten days; he therefore, having preserved his money carefully, was desirous to be soon at home, that he might freely enjoy his gettings. By him the purpose of Xenophon was divulged, which was interpreted according to the diversity of men's opinions, some approving the motion, but the greater part rejecting it. They of Sinope and Heraclea, being informed of this consultation, were sore afraid, lest the poverty of the soldiers, who had not wherewith to maintain themselves at home, should give success to the project. Which to prevent, they promised to supply the army with a sufficient fleet, and likewise offered money to some of the captains, who thereupon undertook to give the soldiers pay, if they would presently set sail for Greece. One of these captains, being a banished man, desired them to follow him into Troas, another offered to lead them into Cherronesus. Xenophon, who desired only the common good, was pleased greatly with these propositions, and professed openly that he would have them to set forward and hold together in any case, punishing him as a traitor that should forsake the army before such time as they were arrived at their journey's end. Silanus the soothsayer, who had uttered Xenophon's purpose, was hereby stayed from outrunning his fellows, and driven to abide with his wealth among poor men, longer than stood with his good liking. Also the other captains were much troubled and afraid, when they perceived that ships were prepared sufficient for their navigation, but that the money promised to them, and by them to the soldiers, came not. For the people of Sinope and Heraclea, knowing that the army was now resolved for the voyage, and that Xenophon, whom they feared, had persuaded them to this resolution, thought it the wisest way to furnish them with a navy whilst they were in good readiness to depart, but to keep the money to themselves. The captains therefore, who being disappointed by these towns found themselves in great danger of their men, whom

they had deceived with fair hopes, repented much of their hasty offers, and signifying as much to Xenophon, prayed him to make proposition to the army of taking the ships and sailing to Phasis, where they might seize upon lands, and plant themselves in such wise as should stand best with their good liking. But finding him cold in the business, they began to work the principal of their own followers, hoping by them to draw in all the rest. These news becoming public, bred a suspicion of Xenophon, as if he had won the rest of the captains to his purpose, and meant now to carry the army quite another way from their own home. Wherefore assembling the companies, he gave them satisfaction, and withal complained of some disorders, which he caused them to redress. A general inquisition was likewise made of offences committed since the death of Cyrus, which being punished, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came ambassadors from Corylas, lord of the Paphlagonians, who sending presents desired peace of the Greeks: the ambassadors were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to have been sought, for that the Greeks, having now their fleet in a readiness, did soon weigh anchors and set sail for Harmene, the port of Sinope, whither Cherisophus came, bringing with him a few galleys from the admiral Anaxibius, who promised to give the army pay as soon as they came into the parts of Greece.

SECT. XIV.

Another great dissension and distraction of the army. How the mutineers were beaten by the Barbarians, and rescued by Xenophon.

THE nearer that they approached to Greece, the greater was their desire to make provision for themselves, that they might not return home empty-handed. Wherefore trusting well, that if the charge of the army were absolutely committed to one sufficient man, he might the more conveniently procure the good of them all, they determined to make Xenophon sole commander of all, in whose favour as well the captains as the common soldiers were very earnest

and violent. But he, either fearing to displease the Lacedæmonians, who were jealous of him already, (being incensed by that fugitive who forsook the army at Trabizond, flying with one of their two ships,) or moved by some tokens appearing to him in the entrails, that threatened ill success to his government, procured with vehement contention that this honour was laid upon Cherisophus, a Lacedæmonian. It seems that Xenophon, considering the vexations incident to the conduct of a voluntary army, wanting pay, did wisely in yielding to such tokens as forbade him to accept it: especially, knowing so well their desire, which was, by right or by wrong, to get wealth wheresoever it might be found, without all regard of friend or of foe. Cherisophus had been general but six or seven days, when he was deposed for having been unwilling to rob the town of Heraclea, which had sent presents to the camp, and been very beneficial unto them in lending ships for their transportation. Two days they had sailed by the coast of Asia, when being past those great rivers, which would have given impediment to their journey by land, they touched at Heraclea, where consulting how to take their way onwards, whether by land or sea, one seditious man began to put them in mind of seeking to get somewhat for themselves, telling them that all their provision would be spent in three days, and that being now come out of the enemy's country, victuals and other necessaries could not be had without money; for which cause he gave advice to send messengers into the town of Heraclea, giving the citizens to understand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thousand pieces of money, called *cyzicens*, which sum amounteth to two thousand and five hundred pound sterling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the sum raised to ten thousand cyzicens at least; which to require, they thought Cherisophus, as being general, the fittest man; others had more desire to send Xenophon, but in vain, for they both refused it, and renounced the action as dishonest. Lest therefore either of these should fail in managing the business which agreed not with his disposition, others of more

impudency and less discretion were sent, who in such wise delivered their insolent message, that the citizens, taking time to deliberate upon their request, brought what they could out of the fields into the town, and, shutting the gates, did forthwith man the walls. When the soldiers perceived themselves to be disappointed of their ravenous purpose, they fell to mutiny, saying, that their leaders had betrayed them: and being for the more part of them Arcadians and Achæans, they forsook immediately Cherisophus and Xenophon, choosing new leaders out of their own number. Above four thousand and five hundred they were, all heavily armed, who electing ten captains, sailed unto the port of Calpas, which is in the midway between Heraclea and Byzantium, with purpose to assail the Bithynians on the sudden. With Cherisophus there abode two thousand and one hundred, of whom one thousand and four hundred were armed weightily; Xenophon had two thousand foot, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and forty horse; which small band had done good service already, and could not have been spared now. Cherisophus had agreed with Cleander, governor of Byzantium, to meet him at the mouth of the river Calpas, whither Cleander promised to bring some galleys to convey him over into Greece; for which cause he took his way thither by land, leaving to Xenophon such shipping as he had, who passing some part of the way by sea landed upon the confines of Heraclea and Thracia Asiatica, intending to make a cut through the midland country to the Propont. The mutineers, who had landed at Calpas by night with purpose to take spoils in Bithynia, divided themselves into ten companies, every captain leading his own regiment into some village five or six miles from the sea; in the greater towns were two regiments quartered; and so was that part of the country surprised on the sudden, and sacked all at one time. The place of rendezvous was an high piece of ground, where some of them arrived, finding no disturbance; others, not without much trouble and danger; two companies were broken and defeated, only eight men escaping, the rest were all put to

the sword. For the Thracians which escaped at first out of the soldiers' hands did raise the country, and finding the Greeks loaden with booty, took the advantage of their disorder, cutting in pieces those two regiments; which done, they attempted the rest, encompassing the hill whereon they encamped. One great advantage the Thracians had, that being all light armed, they could at pleasure make retreat from these Arcadians and Achæans, who wanting the assistance of horse, and having neither archers nor slingers among them, were driven to stand merely upon their defence, bearing off with great danger, and many wounds received, the darts and arrows of the Barbarians, till finally they were driven from their watering-place, and enforced to crave parley. Whatsoever the articles of composition were, the Thracians yielded to all; but pledges for assurance they would give none; without which the Greeks well knew that all promises of such people, especially so incensed, were nothing worth. In the mean time Xenophon holding his way quietly through the inland region, did inquire of some travellers, whether they knew ought of any Grecian army passing along those parts; and receiving by them true information of the desperate case into which these gallants had foolishly thrown themselves, he marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for guides them who gave him the intelligence. His horsemen he sent before, to discover and to scour the ways; the light-armed footmen took the hill-tops on either hand; all of them setting fire on whatsoever they found combustible, whereby the whole country seemed to be on a light flame, to the great terror of the enemies, who thought that some huge army had approached. That night he encamped on a hill within five miles of the Arcadians, increasing still the number of his fires, which he caused hastily to be quenched soon after supper. The enemies perceiving this, thought certainly that he would have come upon them in the dark, which caused them in all haste to dislodge. Early the next morning Xenophon, coming thither in very good array to have given battle, found that his device to affright the

Thracians had taken full effect; but he marvelled that the Greeks were also departed, concerning whom he learned by inquiry, that they removed at break of day, and perceived by signs that they had taken the way to the port of Calpas, in which journey he overtook them. They embraced him and his with great joy, confessing that they themselves had thought the same which the enemies did, looking that he should have come by night, wherein finding themselves deceived, they were afraid lest he had forsaken them, and therefore hastened away to overtake him, and join with him. So they arrived at the haven of Calpas, where it was decreed, that whosoever from thenceforth made any motion to disjoin the army should suffer death.

SECT. XV.

Of divers pieces of service done by Xenophon, and how the army returned into Greece. The occasions of the war between the Lacedæmonians and the Persian.

THE haven of Calpas lay under a goodly headland, that was very strong, and abounding with all kind of grain and fruits, except olives. There was also timber for building and shipping, and a very convenient seat for a great city. All which commodities, that might have allured the soldiers to stay there, and to plant, caused them to haste away, fearing lest Xenophon should find some device to have settled himself and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good means to live at home, neither did they so much for hope of gain follow Cyrus in that war, as in regard of his honour, and the love which they bare unto him; the poorer sort were such as left their parents, wives, and children, to whom (though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchase) they were now desirous to return. But whether it were so that Xenophon found advantage by their own superstition to make them stay, which they greatly suspected, or whether the signs appearing in the entrails did indeed forbid their departure, so long they were enforced to abide in the place till victuals failed; neither would the captains lead them forth to forage the coun-

try, until the sacrifices should promise good success. Cherisophus was dead of an ague, and his ships were gone, being returned to the Heracleans, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were joined to the rest of the army, which the greater it was, the more provision it needed, and the sooner felt want. For which cause, he that was chosen coronel into the place of Cherisophus would needs adventure to gratify the soldiers with the spoil of some villages that stood near at hand; in which enterprise he found ill success, the whole country lying in wait to entrap him, and an army of horse being sent by Pharnabazus, the satrapa or viceroy of Phrygia, to the assistance of these Bithynian Thracians, which troops falling upon the Greeks that were scattered abroad in seeking booty slew five hundred of them, and chased the rest to a certain mountain thereby. The news of this overthrow coming to Xenophon, he led forth a part of the army to the rescue of those that survived, and brought them safe to the camp, upon which the Bithynians made an offer that night, and breaking a *corps de garde*, slew some, pursuing the rest to the very tents. This new courage of the enemy, together with the present condition of the army, so disheartened and unfurnished of necessaries, caused the Greeks to remove their camp to a place of more strength; which having intrenched, and committed to the defence of such as were least able to endure travail, Xenophon with the firmest and best able men went forth, both to bury those which were lately slain, and to abate the pride of the Thracians and their assistants. In this journey his demeanour was very honourable. For having given burial to the dead, the enemy was discovered lying on the tops of the hills adjoining, to whom (notwithstanding that the way was very rough and troublesome, so that some thought it a matter of too great danger to leave at their backs a wood scarce passable) he marched directly, telling his men plainly, that he had rather follow the enemy with half the number, than turn his back to them with twice as many, and letting them further know, that if they did not charge the Barbarian, he would not fail with the

greater resolution to pursue them; from whom if they could safely retire to the camp, yet what should they do there, wanting victuals to sustain them in the place, and ships to carry them away? wherefore he willed them rather to fight well that day, having eaten their dinners, than another day fasting; and not to regard the uneasy return, which might serve to stay cowards from running away, but to wish unto the enemy a fair and easy way, by which he might fly from them. These persuasions were followed with so valiant execution, that both Persians and Bithynians being chased out of the field, abandoned the country forthwith, removing their families, and leaving all that could not suddenly be conveyed away to the discretion of the Greeks, who at good leisure gathered the harvest of these bad neighbours' fields. This was the last fight which they had on the side of Asia. For they were not only suffered quietly to enjoy the spoil of the country, but when the opinion grew common in those parts, that it was the intent of Xenophon to plant a colony on the port of Calpas, ambassadors were sent from the neighbour people to desire friendship, and make offer of their best assistance. But the soldiers had no mind to stay. Wherefore entering further into Bithynia they took a great booty, which they carried away to Chrysopolis, a city near unto Chalcedon, where they sold it. Pharnabazus, lieutenant in Phrygia to Artaxerxes, did greatly fear, lest their long stay in that country might breed in them a desire to visit his province, where they might have found great wealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore he sent to the Lacedæmonian admiral, entreating him with much instance and large promises to waft them over into Europe, to whom Anaxibius the admiral condescending, promised to give the soldiers pay as soon as they arrived at Byzantium. So were they carried out of Asia at the entreaty of the Persian, who in the height of his pride had thought them so surely imprisoned with mighty rivers, that he not only denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to surrender their arms into his hands, and so to yield their lives to his discretion. How

discourteously they were entreated by Anaxibius, and how to requite his injurious dealings they seized upon Byzantium, which by Xenophon's persuasion they forbare to sack, I hold it superfluous to relate: for the residue of their doings appertain little to the general course of things. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, so did it both discover the secrets of Asia, and stir up the Greeks to think upon greater enterprises than ever their forefathers had undertaken. Likewise it was the only remarkable action which the time afforded. For the Roman wars did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring towns of Italy; and in Greece all things were quiet, the Lacedæmonians ruling insolently, but without disturbance. True it is, that the seeds of the war shortly following, which the Lacedæmonians made upon Artaxerxes, were already sown before these companies returned out of the high countries of Asia. For the towns of Ionia, which had sided with young Cyrus against Tissaphernes, if not against the great king, prepared to rebel, which they thought safer than to fall into the hands of Tissaphernes, who was now appointed lieutenant both of the old province, and of all that had belonged to Cyrus. Wherefore the Ionians besought the Lacedæmonians to send them aid, whereby to recover their liberty, and obtained their request. For a power was sent over under conduct of Thimbro, a Spartan, who bestowed his men in such towns as had already revolted, to secure the cities and their fields, but not to make any offensive war.

CHAP. XI.

Of the affairs of Greece whilst they were managed by the Lacedæmonians.

SECT. I.

How the Lacedæmonians took courage by example of Xenophon's army to make war upon Artaxerxes.

IT seems that the Lacedæmonians did well perceive in

how ill part Artaxerxes took their favour shewed unto his brother, and yet were timorous in beginning an open war against him, thinking it sufficient to take all care that no advantage might slip which could serve to strengthen their estate, by finding the Persian work beyond the sea. But when Xenophon's army had revealed the baseness of those effeminate Asiatics, and rehearsed the many victories which they themselves had gotten, upon terms of extreme disadvantage, then was all Greece filled with desire of undertaking upon this huge unwieldy empire, thinking it no hard matter for the joint forces of that whole nation to hew out the way to Susa, whereof one handful had opened the passage to Babylon, and further, finding no power that was able to give them resistance, in all that long journey of four and thirty thousand two hundred and fifty-five furlongs spent in going and returning, which make of English miles about four thousand two hundred four score and one, a very painful march of one year and three months. Nevertheless, the civil distraction wherewith Greece was miserably torn, and especially that hot fire of the Theban war, which, kindled with Persian gold, brake forth suddenly into a great flame, drew back out of Asia the power of the Lacedæmonians to the defence of their own estate; leaving it questionable whether Agesilaus, having both the same, and far greater forces, could have wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole space of two years, which he spent in Asia, his deeds procured more commendation of magnanimity and fair behaviour, than of stout courage and great or profitable achievements. For how highly soever it pleased Xenophon, who was his friend and follower in this and in other wars, to extol his virtue, his exploits being only a few incursions into the countries lying near the sea, carry no proportion to Xenophon's own journey, which I know not whether any age hath paralleled: the famous retreat of Conon the Briton, with six thousand men, from Aquileia to his own country, through all the breadth of Italy and length of France, in despite of the emperor Theodosius, being rather like it than equal. But

of Agesilaus and his wars in Asia and Greece we shall speak more in due place.

SECT. II.

The prosperous beginnings of the war in Asia.

THIMBRO, receiving Xenophon's men, began to take in towns, and to entertain all such as were willing to revolt from the Persian, who were many, and some of them such as had been highly beholding to the king, who seem to have had no other cause of discontent, than that they were to live under the government of Tissaphernes, whom all others did as vehemently hate as the king his master did love him. The managing of the war begun by Thimbro was for his oppressions taken out of his hands, and committed to Dercyllidas, a Spartan, who behaved himself as a good man of war, and a wise commander. For whereas the rule of the low countries of Asia was divided between Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes, who did ill agree, Pharnabazus being the worthier man, but the other by his prince's favour the greater, and having the chief command in those wars against the Greeks; Dercyllidas, who did bear a private hatred to Pharnabazus, (knowing well that Tissaphernes was of a mischievous nature, and would not be sorry to see his corrival throughly beaten, though to the king's loss,) made an appointment with Tissaphernes, and forthwith entered Æolis, which was under the jurisdiction of Pharnabazus, which province, in few days, he brought into his own power.

That country of Æolis had about the same time suffered a violent alteration, which gave easy success to the attempts of Dercyllidas. Zenis, a Dardanian, had been deputy to Pharnabazus in those parts, after whose death his wife Mania procured his office, wherein she behaved herself so well, that she not only was beloved of the people under her government, but enlarged her territory by the conquest of certain towns adjoining; and sundry times gave assistance to Pharnabazus in his wars against the Mysians and Pisidians. For she had in pay some companies of Greeks,

whose valour by her good usage did her great service. But somewhat before the arrival of Dercyllidas in those parts, a son-in-law of hers, called Midias, whom she trusted and loved much, being blinded with ambition, found means to stifle her, and kill her son of seventeen years old; which done, he seized upon two of her principal towns, wherein her treasure lay, hoping to have been admitted into possession of her whole estate. Being denied entrance by her soldiers that lay in garrison, he sent messengers with presents to Pharnabazus, desiring him to make him governor in the place of Mania. His presents were not only rejected by Pharnabazus, but revenge of his foul treason threatened, whereby the wicked villain was driven into terms of almost utter desperation. In the mean time came Dercyllidas, to whom the towns of Mania, that held against Midias, did quickly open their gates. One only town stood out four days, (against the will of the citizens, who were covetous of liberty,) the governor striving in vain to have kept it to the use of Pharnabazus. Now remained only two cities, Gergethe and Scepsis, which the traitor held, who fearing all men, as being loved of none, sent ambassadors to Dercyllidas, desiring leave to speak with him, and pledges for his security; upon the delivery of which he issued out of Scepsis, and coming into the camp, made offer to join with the Greeks, upon such conditions as might seem reasonable. But he was plainly told by Dercyllidas, that other condition there was none, than to set the citizens freely at liberty: and presently upon these words they marched toward Scepsis. When Midias perceived that it was in vain to strive against the army and the townsmen, who were all of one mind, he quietly went along with Dercyllidas, who remaining but a few hours in the city, did a sacrifice to Minerva, and then leading away the garrison of Midias, he left the city free, and departed toward Gergethe. Midias did not forsake his company, but followed him, earnestly entreating that he might be suffered to retain Gergethe; but coming to the gates, he was bidden to command his soldiers that they should be opened, for (quoth Dercyllidas) I must here

likewise do a sacrifice to Minerva. The traitor, not daring to make denial, caused his mercenaries to open the gates, whereby Dercyllidas, taking possession of the place, tendered pay to the garrison, who did not refuse to serve under his ensigns. This done, all the goods of Mania were seized upon, as belonging to one that had been subject to Pharnabazus, who was enemy to the Greeks; and so the murderous wretch was sent away naked, not knowing in what part of the world he might find any place to hide his detested head. Dercyllidas, having in eight days taken nine cities, purposed for the ease of his confederates to winter in Bithynia, to which end he took truce with Pharnabazus, who had not any desire of war. That winter, and the summer ensuing, the truce being recontinued, held; in which time, besides the wasting of Bithynia, the neck of land joining Cherronea to the main was fortified, being four or five miles in breadth; by which means eleven towns, with much good land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wild Thracians, and made fit and able to victual the camp. Likewise the city of Atarne was taken, which was of great strength, and very well stored with provision. After this, Dercyllidas had command from Sparta to divert the war into Caria, where was the seat of Tissaphernes, for that hereby it was thought not uneasy to recover all the towns of Ionia; Pharax, the admiral of the fleet, (which was a yearly office,) being appointed to join with him. Though it was manifest that Tissaphernes had neglected Pharnabazus in time of necessity, yet was he not in his own danger requited with the like: for Pharnabazus, having respect to the king's service, came to assist his private enemy Tissaphernes, and so passing into Caria, they thrust garrisons into all places of strength; which done, they marched towards Ionia, hoping to find the towns ill manned for resistance. As these Persians were desirous to keep the war from their own doors, so was Dercyllidas willing to free his confederates the Ionians from the spoil and danger of the war, by transferring it into Caria. For which cause he passed the river of Mæander, and not looking to have been so soon

encountered, marched carelessly through the country, when on the very sudden the whole army of Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus was discovered, consisting of Persians, Carians, and some mercenary Greeks, who were all marshalled in very good order to present battle. The odds was too apparent, both in numbers of men, and in readiness, as also in advantage of ground; for the Persian had a great multitude of horse, the Greek very few and feeble, being to fight in an open plain: therefore all the Ionians, together with the islanders and others of such places as bordered upon the king's dominions, did either betake themselves to present flight, or, abiding a while for shame, did plainly discover by their looks that they meant not to be more bold than wise. Only Dercyllidas with his Peloponnesians, regarding their honour, prepared to endure the fight; which must needs have brought them to destruction, if the counsel of Pharnabazus had been followed, who perceiving the opportunity of so great a victory, was not willing to let it slip. But Tissaphernes, who naturally was a coward, seeing that countenance of resistance was made, began to consider what strange defence the soldiers of Xenophon had shewed, and, thinking that all the Greeks were of the like resolution, held it the wisest way to crave parley; the conclusion of which was, that a truce should be made, to last until Tissaphernes might receive answer from the king, and Dercyllidas from Sparta, concerning the demands propounded in the treaty, which were on the one part, that all the Greeks in Asia might enjoy their own liberty and laws, but contrariwise on the other side, that the Lacedæmonians should depart Asia, and leave the towns to the king's pleasure. This treaty was of none effect; only it served to free the Greeks from the present danger, and to gain time unto Tissaphernes, who desired to avoid the war by procrastination, which he durst not adventure to finish by trial of a battle.

SECT. III.

How the Lacedæmonians took revenge upon the Eleans for old displeasure. The discontents of the Corinthians and Thebans conceived against the state of Sparta.

IN the mean season the Lacedæmonians, who found none able to withstand them in Greece, began to call the Eleans to account for some disgraces received by them during the late wars, when leisure was wanting to the requital of such petty injuries. These Eleans, being presidents of the Olympiac games, had set a fine upon the city of Sparta, for nonpayment of which they forbade them to come to the solemnity, and publicly whipped one of them, that was a man of note, for presuming to contend against their decree. Likewise they hindered Agis king of Sparta from doing sacrifice to Jupiter, and in all points used great contempt toward the Spartans, who now had no business that could hinder them from taking revenge; and therefore sent a peremptory message to the Eleans, commanding them to set at liberty the cities which they held in subjection. This was the usual pretence which they made the ground of all their wars; though little they cared for the liberty of such towns, which they caused afterwards to become followers, and little better than mere vassals to themselves. In their late wars with Athens, the strong opposition which they found caused this goodly title of liberty to work very slowly; but having now to do with a state of great spirit and small force, it gave present success to their desires. Two years together they sent an army into the country of the Eleans; the first year an earthquake (held in those times a prodigious sign, and which did always forbid the prosecution of any enterprise in hand) caused them to retire; the second year all the towns of the Eleans did hastily revolt, and the city itself was driven to submission, consenting both to suffer their old subjects freely to enjoy their liberty, and to have her own walls thrown down. Only the presidentship of the Olympian games was left unto them, which it was not to be doubted that they would, in time coming, use modestly, finding themselves to stand at the

mercy of Sparta. In this expedition all the Greeks were assistant to the Lacedæmonians, excepting the Corinthians and Bœotians, whose aid having been of as much importance in the late Peloponnesian war, as the force of Sparta itself, they could not smother their dislike of their unequal division following the victory, which gave to Sparta the command of all Greece, to Thebes and Corinth only security against Athens, but such a security as was worse than the danger. For when the equal greatness of two mighty estates did counterpoise each the other, it was in the power of these neutral commonweals to adhere to either, as the condition of their affairs required; but when, to revenge injuries, they had by mortal hatred prosecuted the war to extremity, leaving the one city naked of power and friends, the other mightily increased in both, it was then (if not necessary to obey the greatness which themselves had made, yet) foolish and dangerous to provoke it. Nevertheless, it was not the purpose of the Spartans to take occasion of any quarrel, which they could not finish at pleasure, till such time as they had by victory or composition made some good end with the Persian, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

SECT. IV.

The passage of Agesilaus into Asia. His war with Tissaphernes. How Tissaphernes was put to death, and the war diverted into another province, through persuasion and gifts of Tithraustes his successor. How careless the Persian lieutenants were of the king's good.

AGESILAUS, newly made king of Sparta, was desirous to have the honour of the victory, which, not without cause, he expected upon those of Asia; and therefore procuring a great army to join with that of Dercyllidas, he took his way in great pomp to Aulis in Bœotia, a haven lying opposite to the island of Eubœa, in which place Agamemnon (leading the power of all Greece to the war against Troy, many ages before) had embarked his men. In imitation of Agamemnon, he meant also to do sacrifice in Aulis, which the Thebans,

lords of that country, would not permit; but saying that the performance of such ceremonies in that place belonged unto their officers, they were so unable to conceal their malice, that sending some companies of horse they threw down his sacrifice from the altar. It was not then convenient time for Agesilaus to entangle himself and his country in any new war; therefore, waiting better opportunity of revenge, he quietly swallowed the contumely, and followed his main intendment. Having landed his men at Ephesus, he was entertained by Tissaphernes with a treaty of peace, wherein Agesilaus peremptorily requiring that the Persian should restore to liberty all the Greek towns in Asia, was promised that the king, being first informed of his demand, should send answer to his good liking, if he would in the mean while make truce. Truce was therefore made, which Tissaphernes had sought only to win time of making provision for the war, and getting supply of men and money from Artaxerxes, whilst Agesilaus was busy in settling the estates of his confederate cities on that side of the sea. The end of this long vacation from war was at the coming down of these forces which Artaxerxes had sent, at what time Agesilaus received a plain message from Tissaphernes, that either he must forthwith depart out of Asia, or make good his abode by strong hand. Agesilaus, returning word that he was glad to hear that his enemies had by perjury deserved vengeance from Heaven, prepared to invade them; and sending word to all the towns which lay between him and Caria, that they should provide victuals and other necessaries for his army, did easily make Tissaphernes believe that his intent was to invade that province wherein Tissaphernes dwelt, and which was unfit for horse, in which part of his forces the Persian had most confidence. Therefore Tissaphernes, bestowing all his companies of foot in Caria, entered with his horse into the plains of Mæander, hoping thereby to stop the passage of a heavy foot-army, not suffering them to pass into that country which was fittest for their service. But the Greeks left him waiting there in vain, and marched directly into Phrygia, where they took

great spoil without resistance, till such time as the horsemen of Pharnabazus met him, who in a small skirmish having the better of the Greeks, were the occasion that Agesilaus returned to Ephesus. Although in this last fight only twelve men were lost, yet Agesilaus, perceiving by that trial how hard it would be to prevail and hold the mastery of the field without a greater strength of horse, took all possible care to increase that part of his forces. By which means having enabled himself whilst winter lasted, he entered upon the country of Tissaphernes as soon as the season of the year would permit, and not only took a great booty, but finding the horsemen of Tissaphernes in the plain of Mæander without assistance of their infantry, he gave them battle, and had a great victory, taking their camp, in which he found great riches. The blame of this loss fell heavy upon Tissaphernes, who either upon cowardice had absented himself from the battle, or following some other business was then at Sardes. For which cause his master having him in distrust, and thinking that peace might be the sooner had, which he much desired, if the man so odious to the whole nation of the Greeks were taken out of the way, he sent into those parts Tithraustes, a Persian, to cut off the head of Tissaphernes, and succeed him in the government. Such was the end of this base and cowardly politician, who, little caring to offend Heaven when by perjury he could advance his purposes on earth, failed at the last through too much overweening of his own wisdom, even in that part of cunning wherein he thought himself most perfect. For supposing that by his great skill in subtle negociation he should one way or other circumvent the Greeks, and make them weary of Asia, he did not seek to finish the war, and, according to his master's wish, bring all things speedily to quiet; but rather to temporize, till he might find some opportunity of making such end as best might stand with the king's honour and his own. Wherein it seems that he much mistook his prince's disposition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aid which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would he much more

gladly have taken it, if he could have found such means whereby the danger itself might have been avoided; as not loving to have war whilst by any conditions (honourable or not) he might obtain peace. And this appeared well by the course which Tithraustes took at his first possession of the low countries; for he sent ambassadors to Agesilaus in very friendly sort, letting him know that the man who had been author of the war was now taken out of the way, and that it was the king's pleasure to let the Greeks enjoy their own laws and liberty, upon condition that they should pay him the tribute accustomed, and the army be forthwith dismissed. The answer to this proposition was by Agesilaus referred to the council of Sparta: in the mean season he was content to transfer the war into the province of Pharnabazus, at the request of Tithraustes, who bought his departure with thirty talents.

This was a strange manner of war, both on the offensive and on the defensive part. For Agesilaus, having entertained great hopes of vanquishing the great king, was contented to forbear his several provinces at the entreaty of the lieutenants; and those lieutenants, being employed by the king to maintain his estates against all enemies, (wherein if they failed they knew that their heads might easily be taken from their shoulders,) were little offended at any loss that fell on their next neighbour provinces, which were subject likewise to the same crown of Persia, so long as their own government could be preserved free from waste and danger. The cause of this disorder on the Persian side I can ascribe to nothing so deservedly as to the corrupted estate of the court, wherein eunuchs, concubines, and ministers of pleasure were able by partial construction to countenance or disgrace the actions of such as had the managing of things abroad; and to that foolish manner of the kings, (which was so usual that it might be called a rule,) to reward or punish the provincial governor, according to the benefit or loss which the country given in charge unto each of them received during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to pass, that as every one was desirous to make his

own territory yield a large increase to the king's treasure, so no man was careful to assist his borderers, if loss or danger might thereby grow to himself and his; but sat still as an idle beholder, when perhaps by joining their forces it had not been uneasy to recompense the spoil of one country by conquering another, or defending a third from far greater miseries.

SECT. V.

The war and treaty between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus.

AGESILAUS having thus compounded with Tithraustes, entered Phrygia, burning and wasting the country without resistance. He took the palace of Pharnabazus, and by his lieutenant drave him out of his camp. These actions, together with his honourable behaviour, which added much to their lustre, were more glorious than profitable. For he did not win cities and places of strength, which might have increased his power, and given assurance to the rest of his proceedings; but purchased fame and high reputation, by which he drew unto him some that were discontented and stood upon bad terms with the great king, whom he lost again as easily, by means of some slight injury done to them by his under-captains. Pharnabazus did not enclose himself in any town, for fear of being besieged, but kept the field, lying as near as he could safely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpose to fight, but to make some good end by composition, which he found not uneasy to do. For the pleasures by him formerly done to the state of Sparta, in the times of their most necessity, had been so great, that when he (obtaining parley) did set before their eyes his bounty towards them, and his love, (which had been such, that, besides many other hazards of his person, he had for the rescue of their fleet, when it was driven to run ashore at Abydus, adventured to ride into the sea as far as he could find any ground, and fight on horseback against the Athenians,) together with his faith, which had never been violated in word or deed; they knew not how to excuse their ingratitude, otherwise than by telling him, that

having war with his master, they were enforced against their will to offend him. Agesilaus did make a fair offer to him, that if he would revolt from the king to them, they would maintain him against the Persian, and establish him free prince of the country, wherein he was at that time only deputy to Artaxerxes. But Pharnabazus told him plainly, that if the king his master did put him in trust to make war against them, he would not fail to do the best that he could as their enemy; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey another, he would then shift side, and betake himself to their alliance. The issue of this parley was, that the army should no longer abide in Phrygia, nor again return into it, whilst employment could be found elsewhere. The excuse made by Agesilaus, and the withdrawing of his forces out of those parts, were not sufficient to appease Pharnabazus, whom he had not invaded for want of more necessary business elsewhere, but because his country would yield great booty, and for the hire of thirty talents. By this means the Lacedæmonians changed an honourable friend into a hot enemy, who afterwards requited their unthankfulness with full revenge.

SECT. VI.

The great commotions raised in Greece by the Thebans and others, that were hired with gold from the Persian.

IN the mean while Tithraustes, perceiving that Agesilaus meant nothing less than to return into Greece, and let Artaxerxes rest quietly in Asia, took a wise course, whereby the city of Sparta was not only driven to look to her own, and give over her great hopes of subverting the empire, but was beaten out of all that had been gotten by many late victories, and saw her dominion restrained unto the narrow bounds of her own territory. He sent into Greece fifty talents of silver, to be employed in raising war against the Lacedæmonians; which treasure was, by the subtle practice of him that was put in trust with it, in such wise dispersed among the principal men of the Thebans, Argives, and Corinthians, that all those estates having formerly borne

secret hate to that of Sparta, were now desirous of nothing so much as of open war. And lest this great heat of the incensed multitude should, for want of present exercise, begin to faint, and vanish away in idle words, occasion was found out to thrust the Lacedæmonians into arms, that they themselves might seem authors of the quarrel. Some land there was in the tenure of the Locrians, to which the Thebans had in former time laid claim; but the Phocians, either having the better title, or finding the greater favour, had it adjudged unto them, and received yearly money for it. This money the Locrians were either hired or persuaded to pay now to the Thebans, who readily accepted it. The Phocians, not meaning so to lose their rent, made a distress by strong hand, recovering a great deal more than their own, which the Thebans (as in protection of their new tenants) requited with an invasion made upon Phocis, wasting that country in the manner of open war. Such were the beginnings of professed hostility between Thebes and Sparta, and the first breaking out of their close enmity, that had long time, though hardly, been concealed. For when the Phocian ambassadors came to Sparta, complaining of the violence done by the Thebans, and requesting succour, they had very favourable audience, and ready consent to their suit; it being the manner of the Lacedæmonians to defer the acknowledgment of injuries received, until occasion of revenge were offered, and then to discover their indignation in cold blood. At this time they had very good opportunity to work their own wills, having no other war to disturb them in Greece, and hearing out of Asia no news that could offend or trouble them: wherefore they sent Lysander to raise all the countries about Phocis, and with such forces as he could levy, to attend the coming of Pausanias king of Sparta, (for Sparta, as hath been shewed before, had two kings,) who should follow him with the strength of Peloponnesus. Lysander did as he was appointed, and being of great reputation in those parts, he drew the Orchomenians to revolt from Thebes. Pausanias likewise raised all Peloponnesus, except the Corinthians,

(who refused to assist him in that enterprise,) meaning to join with Lysander, and make a speedy end of the war. The consideration of so great a danger, approaching so swiftly, caused the Thebans to seek what help they could abroad, forasmuch as their own strength was far too little to make resistance against such mighty preparations. It was not unknown to them, that many followers of the Lacedæmonians were otherwise affected in heart than they durst utter in countenance; but the good wishes of such people were little available, considering that the most which could be expected from them was, that they should do as little hurt as they could; by which manner of tergiversation the Corinthians did at that present cast themselves into the displeasure of the Spartans, to the no great benefit of Thebes. Wherefore it was thought the safest course to procure the assistance of some estate that might presently declare itself on their side, which would cause many others to follow the example, and make their party strong. To this end they sent ambassadors to Athens, excusing old offences, as either not committed by public allowance, or done in time of the general war, and recompensed with friendship lately shewn in their refusal of assisting Pausanias, when he came in behalf of the thirty tyrants, against the good citizens of Athens. In regard of which, and for their own honour's sake, they requested them of aid in the present war, offering to do the best that they could for the restoring of Athens to her former estate and dignity. Thrasybulus and his friends, who, persecuted by the thirty, had been well entertained at Thebes, procured now the city to make a large requital of the courtesy which they had received. For it was decreed, that the state of Athens should not only refuse to aid the Lacedæmonians in this war, but that it should assist the Thebans, and engage itself in their cause. Whilst Pausanias lay still, waiting the arrival of his confederates, Lysander, being desirous to do somewhat that might advance the business in hand, came to Haliartus, where, though Pausanias did not meet him, as had been appointed, yet he attempted the town, and was slain in

fight by the Thebans, who came hastily to the rescue. As this victory did encourage the Thebans, so the coming of Pausanias with his great army did again amaze them with presentation of extreme danger; but their spirits were soon revived by the strong succour which was brought from Athens, in consideration of which, and of the late battle, Pausanias durst not hazard a new fight with them, but receiving the bodies of those that were slain, by composition, departed out of their territory, for which, either cowardice or indiscretion, he was at his return to Sparta condemned as a traitor, and driven to fly into Tegea, where he ended his days in banishment.

SECT. VII.

How Agesilaus was called out of Asia to help his country. A victory of the Spartans. Conon the Athenian, assisted by Pharnabazus, overcomes the Lacedæmonian fleet, recovers the mastery of the seas, and rebuilds the walls of Athens.

THIS good success, and the confederacy made with Athens, gave such reputation to the Thebans, that the Argives, Corinthians, Eubœans, Locrians, and Acarnanes, did forthwith side with them, and raising a strong army, determined to give battle to the Lacedæmonians, as near as they might to their own doors, considering that the force of Sparta itself was not great, but grew more and more by the adjunction of their confederates. The magistrates of Sparta perceiving the danger, sent for Agesilaus, who readily obeyed them, and promising his friends in Asia to return speedily to their assistance, passed the straits of Hellespont into Europe. In the mean time the cities of the new league had given battle to the Lacedæmonians, and the remainder of their associates, but with ill success. For when the right wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the Argives and Thebans returning from the chase in some disorder, were broken and defeated by the Lacedæmonians, who meeting them in good order, won from them the honour which they had gotten by forcing the left wing of the Lacedæmonians, and made the victory of that day entirely

their own. The reports of this battle meeting Agesilaus at Amphipolis, were by him sent over into Asia, where it is not likely that they brought much comfort unto his friend, who had since his departure seen the Spartan fleet beaten, and Lysander the admiral slain. The same man, whose endeavour had brought the Athenians into order, by advancing the sea-forces of the Lacedæmonians with money, and all manner of supplies, was now the occasion that the power of Athens grew strong at sea, when the city was despoiled of her old reputation, and scarcely able to maintain an army by land for her own defence. Pharnabazus considering how much it imported the king his master to have the Greeks divided into such factions, as might utterly disable them from undertaking abroad, thought it the safest way for himself, during these broils, to take such order, that he should not need any more to seek peace by entreaty and commemoration of old benefits at their hands, who unprovoked had sold his love for thirty talents. To which purpose he furnished Conon the Athenian with eight ships, who had escaped when the fleet of Athens was surprised by Lysander at Ægos-Potamos, giving him the command of a great navy, wherewith he requited the loss received at Ægos-Potamos, by repaying the Lacedæmonians with the like destruction of their fleet at Cnidus. After this victory Conon sailed to Athens, bringing with him, partly as the liberality of Pharnabazus, partly as the fruit of his victory, so strong a navy, and so much gold, as encouraged the Athenians to rebuild their walls, and think more hopefully upon recovering the seigniory which they had lost.

SECT. VIII.

Of sundry small victories gotten on each part. The Lacedæmonians lose all in Asia; the Athenians recover some part of their old dominion.

NEVERTHELESS the Lacedæmonians, by many victories at land, maintained for some years the honour of their estate, endangered very greatly by this loss at sea. For Agesilaus obtained the better with his horsemen from

the Thessalians, who were accounted the best riders in Greece: he wasted Bœotia, and fought a great battle at Coronea against the Thebans and their allies, whom he overthrew; and by his marshal Gylis foraged the country of Locris; which done, he returned home.

The gain of these victories was not great, and the reputation of them was by many losses much defaced. For the Thebans did in the battles of Coronea vanquish the Orchomenians, who stood opposite unto them, and retired unbroken to mount Helicon, opening way perforce when Agesilaus charged them in their return from the pursuit. Likewise Gylis was slain with a great part of his army by the Locrians; and some other exploits by the Lacedæmonians performed against the Corinthians were repaid with equal damage received in the parts adjoining, many towns being easily taken, and as easily recovered. The variety of which enter-feats was such, that the Thebans themselves were drawn, by the loss of the haven of Corinth, to sue for peace, but could not get audience till such time as the news came of a great victory obtained by Iphicrates, general of the Athenian forces at Lechæum; whereupon the Theban ambassadors being sent for, and willed to do their message, required only in scorn to have a safe conduct given them, that they might enter into Corinth. From this time forward the war was made for a while only by incursions, wherein the Achæans, confederates of Sparta, felt most loss, their whole state being endangered by the Acarnanians, who held with the contrary side, until Agesilaus repaid these invaders with equal or greater calamities, brought upon their own lands, which did so afflict the Acarnanes, that they were driven to sue for peace. But the affairs at sea were of most consequence, upon which the success of all depended. For when the towns of Asia perceived that the Lacedæmonians were not only entangled in an hard war at home, but almost disabled to pass the seas, having lost their fleet at Cnidus, they soon gave ear to Pharnabazus, who promised to allow that they should use their own laws, if they would expel the Spartan governors. Only the city of

Abidus did stand firm, wherein Dercyllidas lay, who did his best to contain all the towns about Hellespont in the alliance of the Lacedæmonians; which he could not do, because the Athenian fleet under Thrasybulus took in Byzantium, Chalcedon, and other places thereabout, reducing the isle of Lesbos to their ancient acknowledgment of Athens.

SECT. IX.

The base conditions offered unto the Persian by the Lacedæmonians. Of sundry fights and other passages in the war. The peace of Antalcidas.

ABOUT this time the Spartans began to perceive how uneasy a thing it would be to maintain the war against men as good as themselves, assisted with the treasures of Persia; wherefore they craved peace of Artaxerxes, most basely offering, not only to renounce the Greeks inhabiting Asia, and to leave them to the king's disposition, but withal to set the islanders, and every town in Greece, as well the little as the great, at full and absolute liberty, whereby they said that all the principal estates of their country would so be weakened, that no one, nor all of them, should be able to stir against the great king. And sure it was, that the power of the country being so broken, and rent into many small pieces, could neither have disquieted the Persian, by an offensive war, nor have made any good defence against him, but would have left it easy for him in continuance of time, to have taken the cities one after another, till he had made himself master of all. The Spartans were not ignorant of this, but were so carried with envy, that, perceiving how the dominion of the seas was like to return to Athens, they chose rather to give all from themselves and others, and make all alike weak, than to permit that any of their own nation should grow stronger than themselves, who so lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the first accepted, both in regard that the other estates of Greece, who had in the king's behalf joined together against the Lacedæmonians, did by their several ambassa-

dors oppose themselves unto it, and for that it was thought safest for Artaxerxes rather to weaken the Lacedæmonians yet more, than by interposing himself to bring friends and foes on the sudden to an equality. Especially Struthas, whom Artaxerxes did send as his lieutenant into the Low Countries, did seek to repay the harm done by Agesilaus in those parts; which his intent appearing plain, and all hope of the peace being thereby cut off, Thimbro was sent into Asia to make war upon Struthas, and others were appointed to other places, whereby the war, being scattered about all the isles and towns on the firm land, grew almost to the manner of piracy and robbery, affording many skirmishes, but few great actions worthy of remembrance. Thimbro was slain by Struthas, and in his place Diphridas was sent, who demeaned himself more warily. Dercyllidas was removed from his charge at Abydus, because he had not impeached Thrasybulus in his enterprises about Hellespont; Anaxibius, who succeeded him, was surprised and slain in a skirmish by Iphicrates the Athenian. Thrasybulus, departing from Lesbos toward Rhodes, was slain by the way at Aspendus. The city of Rhodes had long before joined with the Lacedæmonians, who erected there (as was their manner) an aristocraty, or the government of a few the principal citizens, whereas contrariwise the Athenians were accustomed to put the sovereignty into the hands of the people, each of them seeking to assure themselves, by erecting in the towns of their confederates a government like unto their own; which doing (where more especial cause did not hinder) caused the nobility to favour Sparta, and the commons to incline to Athens. The people of Ægina roved upon the coast of Attica, which caused the Athenians to land an army in Ægina, and besiege their town; but this siege being raised by the assistance of the Lacedæmonian fleet, the islanders began anew to molest Attica, which caused the Athenians to man their ships again, that returned beaten, having lost four of thirteen. The loss of these ships was soon recompensed by a victory which Chabrias the Athenian general had in Ægina; whereupon

the islanders were fain to keep home, and leave to the Athenians the seas free. It may well seem strange that the city of Athens, having but newly raised her walls, having not by any fortunate and important battle secured her estate from dangers by land, but only depending upon the assistance of such confederates, as carried unto different ends, had often discovered themselves irresolute in the common cause, would send a fleet and an army to Cyprus in defence of Euagoras, when the mastery of the seas was so ill assured, that an island lying in the eye of Piræeus, had ability to vex the coast of Attica. But as the overweening of that city did cause it usually to embrace more than it could compass, so the insolency and shameless injustice of the people had now bred in the chief commanders a desire to keep themselves far out of sight, and to seek employments at such distance as might secure them from the eyes of the envious, and from public judgments, out of which few or none escaped. For which cause Timotheus did pass away much part of his time in the isle of Lesbos, Iphicrates in Thrace; and Chabrias now did carry away into Cyprus a greater force than his country well could have spared, with which he returned not when the business in Cyprus came to an end, but sought new adventures in Egypt, whereby arose neither thanks to himself, nor profit to his city, though honour both to him and it. The Athenians being thus careless of things at hand, had a notable blow given unto them, shortly after that Chabrias was gone to Cyprus, even within their own haven. For Teleutias, a Lacedæmonian, being made governor of Ægina, conceived a strong hope of surprising the navy of Athens as it lay in Piræus; thinking aright that it was an harder matter to encounter with ten ships prepared for the fight, than with twenty lying in harbour, whose mariners were asleep in their cabins, or drinking in taverns. Wherefore he sailed by night unto the mouth of the port, which entering at the break of day, he found (according to his expectation) most of the men on shore, and few or none left aboard to make resistance; by which means he took many ships laden with merchandises,

many fishermen, passengers, and other vessels, also three or four galleys, having sunk or broken, and made unserviceable, as many of the rest as the time would suffer. About this time Pharnabazus, the lieutenant of Phrygia, had one of the king's daughters given to him in marriage, with whom he lived about the court, and many officers that favoured the Lacedæmonians were placed in the Lower Asia, by whose assistance the fleet of Sparta grew victorious about Hellespont; in such wise, that perhaps they should not have needed the peace which they themselves procured by Antalcidas from the great king, the conditions whereof were such as are mentioned before, giving freedom to all the cities of Greece, and dividing the country into as many several states as there were petty boroughs in it. Thus Artaxerxes having bought his own peace with money, did likewise by his money become arbitrator and decider of controversies between the Greeks, disposing of their business in such wise as stood best with his own good. The tenor of Artaxerxes' decree was, That all Asia and Cyprus should be his own, the isles of Lemnos, Imbrus, and Scirus be subject to Athens; all other Greek towns, as well the little as the great, be set at liberty; and that whosoever should refuse this peace, upon them the approvers of it should make war, the king assisting them by land and sea with men, and ships, and treasure. The Athenians were so discouraged by their losses at sea, the Lacedæmonians by revolt of their confederates, and the necessity of maintaining many garrisons, for which they wanted money, and other states by the miseries of the war, whereof they saw no end; that all (excepting the Thebans) did consent unto these articles. This was called the peace of Antalcidas; whereof the Lacedæmonians taking upon themselves the execution, did not only compel the Argives to depart out of Corinth, (which under pretence of defending they held by garrisons lately thrust into it, not as patrons, but as lords,) and the Thebans to leave Bœotia free, of which province Thebes had always held the government; the Thebans themselves being also comprehended under the name of Bœotians; but

caused the Mantinæans to throw down their own city, and to dwell in villages; alleging that they had formerly been accustomed so to do, though purposing indeed to chastise them, as having been ill affected to Sparta in the late war. By these courses the Lacedæmonians did hope that all the small towns in Greece would, when occasion should require it, willingly follow them in their wars, as authors of their liberty; and that the great cities, having lost all their dependants, would be unable to make opposition.

SECT. X.

The war which the Lacedæmonians made upon Olynthus. They take Thebes by treason, and Olynthus by famine.

WHILST these wars, which ended without either victory or profit, consumed the riches and power of Greece, the city of Olynthus in Thrace was grown so mighty, that she did not only command her neighbour towns, but was become terrible to places far removed, and to Sparta itself. Great part of Macedonia, together with Pella, the principal city of that kingdom, was taken by the Olynthians, who following the usual pretence of the Lacedæmonians, to set at liberty the places over which king Amyntas did tyrannize, had almost now driven him out of his dominions, and taken all to themselves. The citizens of Acanthus and of Apollonia, being nearest unto the danger of these encroaching neighbours, acquainted the Lacedæmonians with their fear, affirming that this dominion of the Olynthians would be too strong for all Greece, if some continuance of time should give it reputation, which only it wanted; wherefore they requested assistance, but in such terms as did sound of compulsion; protesting that either they must war upon Olynthus, or become subject unto her, and fight in her defence. Hereupon was made a hasty levy of men, two thousand being presently sent away with promise to be seconded by a greater army. Whilst these two thousand gave such beginning to the war, as agreed with their small number, the body of the army following them surprised the citadel of Thebes, which was betrayed into the

hands of Phœbidas the Lacedæmonian, by some of the magistrates, who sought to strengthen their faction by the slavery of their country. The Thebans were ill affected to Sparta, but had not in any one point violated the peace lately made between them; which caused the Lacedæmonians to doubt whether this act of Phœbidas were more worthy of reward or of punishment: in conclusion, profit so far overweighed honesty, that the deed was approved, many principal citizens of Thebes condemned to death, many driven into banishment, and the traitors rewarded with the government of the city; by whose authority, and the force of the garrison, the Thebans were compelled to serve the Lacedæmonians in all, and more than all that they could require. This access of power having strengthened the Lacedæmonians, caused them to entertain the greater forces about Olynthus, which (notwithstanding the loss of one great battle, and some other disasters) they compelled at length by famine to render itself to their obedience.

SECT. XI.

How the Thebans recovered their liberty, driving out the Lacedæmonian garrison.

AFTER this Olynthian war, which endured almost three years, it seemed that no estate in Greece was able to make head against that of Sparta; but it was not long ere the Thebans found means to shake off their yoke, and gave both example and means to others to do the like. One of the banished men found by conference with a scribe of the Theban magistrates coming to Athens, that the tyranny wherewith this country was oppressed pleased him no better than it did those who for fear of it were fled from home. Whereupon a plot was laid between these two, that soon found very good success, being managed thus. Seven of the banished men forsook Athens privily, and entered by night into the fields of Thebes; where spending the next day secretly, they came late in the evening to the gates like husbandmen returned from work, and so passed undiscovered unto the house of Charon, whom Phyllidas the

scribe had drawn into the conspiracy. The day following, a solemn feast being then held in the city, Phyllidas promised the governors, who were insolent and lustful men, that he would convey unto them that night the most beautiful dames of the town, with whom they should take their pleasure. Having cheered them with such hope, and plenty of good wine, he told them when the time of performance (which they urged) came, that he could not make good his promise, unless they would dismiss their followers; because the gentlewomen, who attended without in a chamber, would not endure that any of the servants should see their faces. Upon this occasion the attendants were dismissed, and the conspirators, attired like ladies and their maids, brought into the place, who taking advantage of the governors' loose behaviour, slew them all upon the sudden with daggers, which they brought hidden under their garments. Then presently casting off their disguise, they went to other places, where feigning themselves to come to the governors upon business, they got admittance, and slew those which were of the Lacedæmonian faction. By the like device they broke into the prison, slew the gaoler, and set at liberty such as they thought meet; and being followed by these desperate men, proclaimed liberty, making the death of the tyrants known. The captain of the castle hearing the proclamation, thought the rebels to be stronger than indeed they were; the citizens contrariwise mistrusted that it was a practice to discover such as would be forward upon occasion of revolting. But as soon as daylight revealed the plain truth, all the people took arms and besieged the castle, sending hastily to Athens for succour. The garrison also sent for aid unto the towns adjoining, whence a few broken troops coming to the rescue, were defeated on the way by the horsemen of Thebes. On the other side, the banished Thebans did not only make speed to assist their countrymen, but procured some Athenians to join with them, and thereby came so strong into the city, that the castle was yielded, more through fear than any necessity, upon condition that the soldiers might quietly depart with

their arms; for which composition the captain at his return to Sparta was put to death. When the news of the doings at Thebes and the success arrived at Sparta, an army was raised forthwith, and all things prepared as earnestly for the recovering of that city, as if some part of their ancient inheritance had been taken from the Lacedæmonians, and not a town perfidiously usurped by them restored to her own liberty. Cleombrotus, one of the kings, was sent on this expedition, who, having wearied his followers with a toilsome winter's journey, returned home without any good or harm done, leaving Sphodrias, with part of his army, at Thespies, to infest the Thebans, who doing them some displeasures, made large amends by a foolish attempt upon the haven of Athens; which failing to take, he wasted the country adjoining, and drave away the cattle; causing by this outrage the Athenians to enter with all their power into the war, out of which they were before very carefully seeking how to withdraw themselves.

CHAP. XII.

Of the flourishing estate of Thebes, from the battle of Leuctra to the battle of Mantinæa.

SECT. I.

How Thebes and Athens joined together against Sparta. How the Athenians made peace for themselves and others, out of which the Thebans were excluded. The battle of Leuctra, and beginning of the Theban greatness.

THE Lacedæmonians were men of great resolution and of much gravity in all their proceedings, but one dishonourable rule they held, that all respects withstanding the commodity of Sparta were to be neglected; the practice of which doctrine, even by the best and wisest of them, did greatly blemish that estate; but when it was put in execution by insufficient overweening men, it seldom failed to

bring upon them, instead of profit unjustly expected, both shame and loss. And so it befell them in these enterprises of Phœbidas upon the castle of Thebes, and Sphodrias upon the Piræus. For howsoever Agesilaus did spoil the country about Thebes, in which he spent two summers, yet the diligence of the Thebans repaired all, who, by the good success of some attempts, grew stronger than they were at the first.

The Athenians likewise began to look abroad, sailing to the isle of Corcyra, where they ordered things at their pleasure, and having in some fights at sea prevailed, began, as in the Peloponnesian war, to surround Peloponnesus with a navy, afflicting so the Lacedæmonians, that had not the Thebans by their insolency wearied their friends, and caused them to seek for peace, it had been very likely that the course of this war should have soon come to a good end, which nevertheless, being prosecuted by the Thebans, (who opposed at once both these two great estates,) left the city of Sparta as much dejected as the beginning found it proud and tyrannous. But the Athenians perceiving how Thebes encroached every day upon her weak neighbours, not sparing such as had been dependants upon Athens, and finding themselves, whilst engaged in such a war, unable to relieve their complaining friends, resolved to settle the affairs of Greece by renewing that form of peace which Antalcidas had brought from the Persian. Wherefore they sent messengers to Thebes, peremptorily signifying, that it was their intent to finish the war; to which purpose they willed the Thebans to send ambassadors along with them to Sparta, who readily condescended, fearing otherwise that they should be left out of the treaty of peace, which came to pass, being so wrought by the courageous wisdom of Epaminondas, who understood far better than his countrymen what was to be feared or hoped. In this treaty the Lacedæmonians and Athenians did soon agree; but when the Thebans offered to swear to the articles in the name of the Bœotians, Agesilaus required them to swear in their own name, and to leave the Bœotians free, whom they had lately reduced

under their obedience. Whereunto Epaminondas made answer, that the city of Sparta should give example to Thebes, by setting the Laconians free; for that the seigniory of Bœotia did by as good right appertain to the Thebans, as that of Laconia to the Spartans. This was well and truly spoken, but was heard with no patience: for Agesilaus bearing a vehement hatred unto those of Thebes, by whom he was drawn back out of Asia into Greece, and disappointed of all the glory which he had hoped to achieve by the Persian war, did now very passionately urge that point of setting the Bœotians at liberty; and finding it as obstinately refused, he dashed the name of the Thebans out of the league. At the same time Cleombrotus, the other king of Sparta, lay in Phocis, who received command from the governors of Sparta forthwith to enter upon the land of the Thebans with all his power, which he did, and was there slain at Leuctra, and with him the flower of his army. This battle of Leuctra, being one of the most famous that ever were fought between the Greeks, was not so notable for any circumstance foregoing it, or for the managing of the fight itself, as for the death of the king, and many citizens of Sparta, but especially for that after this battle (between which and the conclusion of the general peace there passed but twenty days) the Lacedæmonians were never able to recover the strength and reputation which had formerly made them redoubted far and near; whereas contrariwise the Thebans, whose greatest ambition had in former times confined itself unto the little region of Bœotia, did now begin to undertake the leading and command of many people and estates in such wise, that soon after they brought an army of threescore and ten thousand strong unto the gates of Sparta. So much do the afflictions of an hard war, valiantly endured, advance the affairs of the distressed, and guide them into the way of conquest, by stiffening that resolution with a manly temper, which wealth and ease had through luxury, recklessness, and many other vices or vanities, made rusty and effeminate.

SECT. II.

How the Athenians took upon them to maintain the peace of Greece. New troubles hence arising. Epaminondas invadeth and wasteth the territory of Lacedæmon.

THE Athenians, refusing to take advantage of this overthrow fallen upon their old enemies and new confederates the Lacedæmonians, did nevertheless finely give them to understand, that their dominion was expired, and therefore their pride might well be laid away. For, taking upon themselves the maintenance of the peace lately concluded, which Agesilaus (perhaps of purpose to make benefit of quarrels that might arise) had left unperfect, they assembled the deputies of all the estates confederated at Athens, where the general liberty of all towns, as well small as great, was ratified, under the style of the Athenians and their associates. Hereupon began fresh garboils. The Mantineans, claiming power by this decree to order their affairs at their own pleasure, did (as it were) in despite of the Spartans, who had enforced them to raze their town, reedify it, and ally themselves with such of the Arcadians as stood worst affected to Sparta. The Arcadians, a strong nation, consisting of many cities, were distracted with factions; some desiring to hold good correspondency with the Lacedæmonians, some to weaken and keep them low, yet all pretending other ends. The Lacedæmonians durst not give impeachment to the Mantineans, nor take upon them to correct their ill-willers among the Arcadians, till such time as the factions brake out into violence, and each part called in foreign help. Then was an army sent from Sparta, as it were in defence of the people of Tegea, against the Mantineans, but indeed against them both. Agesilaus had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The Thebans had by this time subdued the Phocians, and were become head of the Locrians, Acarnanians, Eubœans, and many others; with the power of which countries they entered Peloponnesus in favour of the Arcadians, who had upon expectation of their coming abstained from giving battle to Agesilaus. The army of the Spartans being dismissed, and Epaminon-

das joined with the Arcadians, the region of Laconia was invaded and spoiled; a thing so strange, that no oracle could have found belief, if any had foretold it. Almost six hundred years were spent since the Dorians, under the posterity of Hercules, had seized upon Laconia, in all which time the sound of an enemy's trumpet was not heard in that country; ten years were not fully past since all Greece was at the devotion of the Spartans; but now the region which neither Xerxes with his huge army could once look upon, nor the mighty forces of Athens and other enemy-states had dared to set foot on, saving by stealth, was all on a light fire, the very smoke whereof the women of Sparta were ashamed to behold. All which indignity notwithstanding, the Lacedæmonians did not issue out of Sparta to fight, but sought how to preserve the town, setting at liberty as many of their Helotes, or slaves, as were willing to bear arms in defence of the state, and somewhat pitifully entreated the Athenians to give them succour. From Corinth and some towns of Peloponnesus they received speedy assistance: the Athenians came forward more slowly, so that Epaminondas returned without battle, having rebuilded the city of Messene, and peopled it anew by calling home the ancient inhabitants, whom the Lacedæmonians many ages before had chased away into other countries, possessing their territories themselves.

SECT. III.

The composition between Athens and Sparta for command in war against the Thebans, who again invade and spoil Peloponnesus. The unfortunate presumption of the Arcadians.

THIS journey therefore utterly defaced the reputation of the Spartans, in such wise, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the army, which was to be raised, nor any manner of precedence; but sending ambassadors from Sparta, and from all the cities which held league with it, unto Athens, they offered to yield the admiralty to the Athenians, requesting that they themselves might be generals by land. This had been a composition well agreeing with the situation and quality of those two cities, but it was

rejected, because the mariners and others that were to be employed at sea, were men of no mark or estimation in regard of those companies of horse and foot whereof the land-army was compounded, who being all gentlemen or citizens of Athens, were to have served under the Lacedæmonians. Wherefore it was agreed that the authority should be divided by time, the Athenians ruling five days, the Lacedæmonians other five, and so successively that each of them should have command of all, both by land and by sea. It is manifest, that in this conclusion vain ambition was more regarded than the common profit, which must of necessity be very slowly advanced, where consultation, resolution, and performance are so often to change hands. This appeared by a second invasion of Peloponnesus, wherein the Thebans found their enemies so unable to impeach them, that having fortified Isthmus from sea to sea, as in former times they had done against Xerxes, they were driven out of their strength by Epaminondas, who foraged the country without resistance. But as the article of this league between Athens and Sparta did, by dividing the conduct in such manner, disable the society, and make it insufficient to those ends for which it was concluded; so the example of it wrought their good, by filling the enemy's heads with the like vanity. For the Arcadians considering their own numbers which they brought into the field, and having found by many trials that their people were not inferior to others in strength of body, in courage, or in good soldiership, thought it good reason that they should in like manner share the government with their friends the Thebans, and not always continue followers of others, by increasing whose greatness they should strengthen their own yoke. Hereupon they began to demean themselves very insolently, whereby they grew hateful to their neighbours, and suspected of the Thebans in an ill time. For a motion of general peace having been made, (which took not effect, because the city of Messene was not abandoned to the Lacedæmonians,) the next enterprise of the Spartans and their friends was upon these Arcadians, who, relying too much

upon their own worth, were overthrown in a great battle, their calamity being as pleasing to their confederates as to their enemies.

SECT. IV.

The great growth of the Theban estate. Embassages of the Greeks to the Persian, with the reason why he most favoured the Thebans. Troubles in the Persian empire. The fruitless issue of the embassages.

THE Thebans especially rejoiced at the Arcadians' misfortune, considering, that, without their aid, the success of all enterprises proved so ill; whereas they themselves had by their own power accomplished very well whatsoever they took in hand, and were become not only victorious over the Lacedæmonians, but patrons over the Thessalians, and moderators of the great quarrels that had risen in Macedonia, where compounding the differences about that kingdom as pleased them best, they carried Philip the son of Amyntas, and father of Alexander the Great, as an hostage unto Thebes. Having therefore obtained such reputation that little seemed wanting to make them absolute commanders of all Greece, they sought means of alliance with the Persian king, to whom they sent ambassador the great and famous captain Pelopidas, whose reputation drew Artaxerxes to grant unto the Thebans all that they desired; whereof two especial points were, that Messene should remain free from the Lacedæmonians, and that the Athenians should forbear to send their ships of war to sea; only the latter of these two was somewhat qualified with reference to further advice. The other states of Greece did also send their ambassadors at the same time, of whom few or none received much contentment. For the king, having found by long experience how far it concerned him to maintain a sure party in Greece, did upon many weighty considerations resolve to bind the Thebans firmly unto him, justly expecting that their greatness should be on that side his own security. The Athenians had been ancient enemies to his crown, and having turned the profit of their victories upon the Persian to the purchase of a great estate in Greece,

maintained their seigniory in such puissant manner, that (sundry grievous misfortunes notwithstanding) they had endured a terrible war, wherein the Lacedæmonians being followed by most of the Greeks, and supplied with treasure and all sorts of aid by Darius Nothus, were not able to vanquish them, till their own indiscretion brought them on their knees. The Lacedæmonians being victorious over Athens, had no sooner established their dominion at home, than they undertook the conquest of Asia, from which though by the commotion raised in Greece with Persian gold they were called back, yet having renewed their power and settled things in Greece, it was not unlikely that they should upon the next advantage have pursued the same enterprise, had not they been impeached by this Theban war. But the Thebans contrariwise had always discovered a good affection to the crown of Persia. They had sided with Xerxes in his invasion of Greece; with Darius and the Lacedæmonians against Athens; and finally, having offered much contumely to Agesilaus when he put to sea, they drew him home by making war on the confederates of Sparta. Besides all these their good deservings, they were no seamen, and therefore unlikely to look abroad, whereunto if perchance they should have any desire, yet were they disabled by the want of good haven towns, which they could not seize upon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the executors, giving liberty to all cities that had at any time been free. Wherefore Artaxerxes did wholly condescend unto the requests of Pelopidas, as far forth as he might without giving open defiance to the rest of Greece, and by that mean he purchased his own quiet, being never afterward molested by that nation in the Lower Asia. The ill means which the Greeks had to disturb Artaxerxes was very beneficial to the estate of Persia shortly after these times, in that great rebellion of all the maritime provinces. For had then the affairs of Greece been so composed, that any one city might without impeachment of the rest have transported an army to assist the revolting satrapæ, or viceroys of Caria, Phry-

gia, Lydia, Mysia, Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Syria, and Phœnicia, human reason can hardly find the means by which the empire could have been preserved from that ruin which the divine counsel had deferred unto the days of Alexander. But this great conspiracy, of so many large and wealthy provinces, wanting a firm body of good and hardy soldiers, was in short space discussed, and vanished like a mist, without effect: these effeminate Asiatics, wearied quickly with the travails and dangers incident to war, forsaking the common cause, and each man striving to be the first that by treason to his company should both redeem the former treason to his prince, and purchase withal his own promotion with increase of riches. Of this commotion, which in course of time followed some actions not as yet related, I have rather chosen to make short mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the narration of things more important; both for that it was like a sudden storm, rashly commenced, idly followed, and foolishly laid down, having made a great noise without effect, and having small reference to any other action regardable; as also because in the whole reign of Artaxerxes, from the war of Cyrus to the invasion of Egypt, I find nothing (this insurrection and a fruitless journey against the Cadusians excepted) worthy of any mention, much less of digression from the course of the business in Greece. All, or the most of his time, passed away so quietly, that he enjoyed the pleasures, which an empire so great and wealthy could afford unto so absolute a lord, with little disturbance. The troubles which he found were only or chiefly domestical, growing out of the hatred which Parysatis the queen-mother bare unto his wife Statira, and to such as had been the greatest enemies to her son Cyrus, or gloried in his death; upon whom, when by poison and mischievous practices she had satisfied her feminine appetite of revenge, thenceforth she wholly applied herself to the king's disposition, cherishing in him the lewd desire of marrying his own daughter, and filling him with the persuasion, which princes not endued with an especial grace do readily entertain, that his own will was the supreme law of

his subject, and the rule by which all things were to be measured, and adjudged to be good or evil. In this imaginary happiness Pelopidas, and the other ambassadors of Greece, both found and left him; but left him by so much more assured than they found him, by how much the conclusion of his treaty with them, being altogether to his own advantage, did seem to promise, if not the perpetuity, a long endurance of the same felicity to him and his, or (at the least) a full security of danger from Greece, whence only could any danger be feared. But such foundations of eternity laid by mortal men in this transitory world, like the tower of Babel, are either shaken from Heaven, or made vain and unprofitable, ere the frame can be raised to full height, by confusion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the Thebans, and other estates of Greece that had sent ambassadors to the Persian. For whereas it had been concluded, that all towns, as well the little as the great, should be set at liberty, and the Thebans made protectors of this common peace, who thereby should become the judges of all controversies that might arise, and leaders in war of all that would enter into this confederacy; the king's letters being solemnly published at Thebes, in the presence of ambassadors, drawn thither from all parts of Greece; when an oath was required for observation of the form of peace therein set down, a dilatory answer was made by the ambassadors, who said that they were sent to hear the articles, not to swear unto them. Hereby the Thebans were driven to send unto each of the cities to require the oath, but in vain. For when the Corinthians had boldly refused it, saying, that they did not need it; others took courage by their example to do the like, disappointing the Thebans of their glorious hopes, to whom this negociation with Artaxerxes gave neither addition nor confirmation of greatness, but left them as it found them, to rely upon their own swords.

SECT. V.

How all Greece was divided between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians on the one side, and Thebans on the other. Of the great tumults rising in Arcadia.

THE condition of things in Greece at that time did stand thus: Athens and Sparta, which in former times had commanded all that nation, and each upon envy of the other's greatness drawn all her followers into a cruel intestine war, by which the whole country, and especially the estate of these two cities, was brought very low, did now conjoin their forces against the Thebans, who sought to make themselves lords of all. The Eleans, Corinthians, and Achaians followed the party of these ancient governing cities, either for the old reputation of them, and benefits received, or in dislike of those who by strong hand were ready to become rulers, to which authority they could not suddenly aspire without some injury and much envy. The city of Thebes abounding with men whom necessity had made warlike, and many victories in few years had filled with great spirits, and being so mighty in dependants, that she had reduced all the continent of Greece without Peloponnesus (the region of Attica and very little part beside excepted) under such acknowledgment as wanted not much of mere vassalage, did hope to bring all Peloponnesus to the like obedience, wherein already she had set good footing by her conjunction with the states of Argos and of Arcadia. The Argives had been always bad neighbours to the Spartans, to whom they thought themselves in ancient nobility superiors, but were far under them in valour, having been often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of losing all; which caused them to suspect and envy nothing more than the greatness and honour of Sparta, taking truce with her when she was at rest, and had leisure to bend her whole force against them, but firmly joining with her enemies whensoever they found her entangled in a difficult war. As the Argives were in hatred of Sparta sure friends of Thebes, so the Arcadians, transported with a great

opinion of their own worthiness, had formerly renounced and provoked against them their old confederates and leaders the Lacedæmonians, and were now become very doubtful adherents to the Thebans. In which regard it was thought convenient by Epaminondas, and the state of Thebes, to send an army into Peloponnesus before such time as these wavering friends should fall further off, and become either neutral, or, which was to be feared, open enemies. And surely great cause there was to suspect the worst of them, considering that without consent of the Thebans they had made peace with Athens, which was very strange, and seemed no less to the Athenians themselves, who, holding a firm league with Sparta at the same time when the Arcadians treated with them, did nevertheless accept this new confederacy, not relinquishing the old, because they found that, howsoever these Arcadians were enemies to the Lacedæmonians, they should hereby be drawn somewhat further from their alliance with Thebes, which without them was unlikely to invade Peloponnesus with a strong army. But this did rather hasten than by any means stay the coming of Epaminondas, who, finding the way somewhat more clear for him, (because the city of Corinth, which lay upon the isthmus, and had been adverse to Thebes, was now, by miseries of this grievous war, driven to become neutral,) took occasion hereby, and by some disorders among the Arcadians, to visit Peloponnesus with an army consisting of all the power of Thebes. A great tumult had risen in Arcadia about consecrated money, which many principal men among them had laid hands on, under pretence of employing it to public uses. In compounding the differences grown upon this occasion, such as had least will to render account of the money which had come into their hands, procured the captain of some Theban soldiers, lying in Tegea, to take prisoners many of their countrymen, as people desirous of innovation. This was done; but the uproar thereby caused was so great, that the prisoners were forthwith enlarged, and the Arcadians, who had in great numbers taken arms, with much ado scarce pacified.

When complaint of the captain's proceedings came to Thebes, Epaminondas turned all the blame upon them who had made the peace with Athens, letting them know, that he would be shortly among them to judge of their fidelity, by the assistance which they should give him in that war which he intended to make in Peloponnesus. These lordly words did greatly amaze the Arcadians, who, needing not the aid of so mighty a power as he drew along with him, did vehemently suspect that great preparation to be made against themselves. Hereupon such of them as had before sought means to settle the affairs of their country, by drawing things to some good conclusion of peace, did now forthwith send to Athens for help, and withal despatched some of the principal among them as ambassadors to Sparta, by whom they offered themselves to the common defence of Peloponnesus, now ready to be invaded. This embassage brought much comfort to the Lacedæmonians, who feared nothing more than the coming of Epaminondas, against whom they well knew that all their forces and best provisions would be no more than very hardly sufficient. Forbearing therefore to dispute about prerogatives, they (who had been accustomed unto such a supremacy, as they would in no wise communicate with the powerful city of Athens, till other hope of securing their own estate could not be thought upon) did now very gently yield to the Arcadians, that the command of the army in chief should be given, for the time, to that city in whose territory it lay.

SECT. VI.

A terrible invasion of Peloponnesus by Epaminondas.

CERTAIN it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a very firm consent and uniform care of the common safety. For beside the great forces raised out of the other parts of Greece, the Argives and Messenians prepared with all their strength to join with Epaminondas, who, having lain a while at Nemea to intercept the Athenians, received there intelligence, that the army coming from Athens would pass by sea; whereupon he dislodged, and

came to Tegea, which city, and the most of all Arcadia besides, forthwith declared themselves his. The common opinion was, that the first attempt of the Thebans would be upon such of the Arcadians as had revolted, which caused the Lacedæmonian captains to fortify Mantinea with all diligence, and to send for Agesilaus to Sparta, that he bringing with him all that small force of able men which remained in the town, they might be strong enough to abide Epaminondas there. But Epaminondas held so good espial upon his enemies, that had not an unknown fellow brought hasty advertisement of his purpose to Agesilaus, who was then well onward in the way to Mantinea, the city of Sparta had suddenly been taken; for thither with all speed and secrecy did the Thebans march, who had surely carried the city, notwithstanding any defence that could have been made by that handful of men remaining within it; but that Agesilaus in all flying haste got into it with his companies, whom the army of his confederates followed thither to the rescue as fast as it was able. The arrival of the Lacedæmonians and their friends, as it cut off all hope from Epaminondas of taking Sparta, so it presented him with a fair advantage upon Mantinea. It was the time of harvest, which made it very likely that the Mantineans, finding the war to be carried from their walls into another quarter, would use the commodity of that vacation by fetching in their corn, and turning out their cattle into their fields, whilst no enemy was near that might impeach them. Wherefore he turned away from Sparta to Mantinea, sending his horsemen before him to seize upon all that might be found without the city. The Mantineans (according to the expectation of Epaminondas) were scattered abroad in the country, far more intent upon their harvest business than upon the war, whereof they were secure, as thinking themselves out of distance. By which presumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their cattle, being unable to recover the town, were in a desperate case, and the town itself in no great likelihood of holding out when the enemy should have taken all their

provision of victuals with so many of the people, as had not over-dearly been redeemed by that city's returning to society with Thebes. But at the same time, the Athenians, coming to the succour of their confederates, whom they thought to have found at Mantinea, were very earnestly entreated by the citizens to rescue their goods and people from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were possible by any courageous adventure to deliver those who otherwise were given as lost. The Thebans were known at that time to be the best soldiers of all the Greeks, and the commendation of good horsemanship had always been given to the Thessalians, as excelling in that quality all other nations; yet the regard of honour so wrought upon the Athenians, that for the reputation of their city, which had entered into this war, upon no necessity of her own, but only in desire of relieving her distressed friends, they issued forth of Mantinea, not abiding so long as to refresh themselves or their horses with meat; and giving a lusty charge upon the enemy, who as bravely received them, after a long and hot fight they remained masters of the field; giving by this victory a safe and easy retreat to all that were without the walls. The whole power of the Bœotians arrived in the place soon after this battle, whom the Lacedæmonians and their assistants were not far behind.

SECT. VII.

The great battle of Mantinea. The honourable death of Epaminondas, with his commendation.

EPAMINONDAS, considering that his commission was almost now expired, and that his attempts of surprising Sparta and Mantinea having failed, the impression of terror, which his name had wrought in the Peloponnesians, would soon vanish, unless by some notable act he should abate their courage in their first growth, and leave some memorable character of his expedition, resolved to give them battle, whereby he reasonably hoped both to settle the doubtful affections of his own associates, and to leave the Spartans as weak in spirit and ability as he found them, if

not wholly to bring them into subjection. Having therefore warned his men to prepare for that battle, wherein victory should be rewarded with lordship of all Greece; and finding the alacrity of his soldiers to be such as promised the accomplishment of his own desire, he made show of declining the enemy, and entrenching himself in a place of more advantage, that so by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, he might allay the heat of their valour, and afterward strike their senses with amazement, when he should come upon them unexpected. This opinion deceived him not: for with very much tumult, as in so great and sudden a danger, the enemy ran to arms, necessity enforcing their resolution, and the consequence of that day's service urging them to do as well as they might. The Theban army consisted of thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse; the Lacedæmonians and their friends were short of this number, both in horse and in foot, by a third part. The Mantineans (because the war was in their country) stood in the right wing, and with them the Lacedæmonians; the Athenians had the left wing, the Achæans, Eleans, and others of less account, filled the body of the army. The Thebans stood in the left wing of their own battle, opposite to the Lacedæmonians, having by them the Arcadians; the Eubœans, Locrians, Sicyonians, Messenians, and Thessalians, with others, compounding the main battle; the Argives held the right wing; the horsemen on each part were placed in the flanks, only a troop of the Eleans were in rear. Before the footmen could join, the encounter of the horse on both sides was very rough, wherein finally the Thebans prevailed, notwithstanding the valiant resistance of the Athenians; who not yielding to the enemy either in courage or skill, were overlaid with numbers, and so beaten upon by Thessalian slings, that they were driven to forsake the place, and leave their infantry naked. But this retreat was the less disgraceful, because they kept themselves together, and did not fall back upon their own footmen; but finding the Theban horse to have given them over, and withal discovering some companies of foot, which

had been sent about by Epaminondas to charge their battle in the rear, they brake upon them, routed them, and hewed them all in pieces. In the mean season the battle of the Athenians had not only to do with the Argives, but was hardly pressed by the Theban horsemen, in such wise that it began to open, and was ready to turn back, when the Elean squadron of horse came up to the relief of it, and restored all on that part. With far greater violence did the Lacedæmonians and Thebans meet; these contending for dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour; so that equal courage and equal loss on both sides made the hope and appearance of victory to either equally doubtful; unless perhaps the Lacedæmonians being very firm abiders, might seem the more likely to prevail, as having borne the first brunt and fury of the onset, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by discipline, as it were by nature, to excel in patience, whereof the Thebans, by practice of a few years, cannot be thought to have gotten a habit so sure and general. But Epaminondas perceiving the obstinate stiffness of the enemies to be such, as neither the bad success of their own horse, nor all the force of the Bœotian army, could abate so far as to make them give one foot of ground, taking a choice company of the most able men, whom he cast into the form of a wedge or diamond, by the advantage of that figure against a squadron, and by his own exceeding virtue, accompanied with the great strength and resolution of them which followed him, did open their ranks, and cleave the whole battle in despite of all resistance. Thus was the honour of that day won by the Thebans, who may justly be said to have carried the victory, seeing that they remained masters of the ground whereon the battle was fought, having driven the enemy to lodge further off. For that which was alleged by the Athenians, as a token that the victory was partly theirs, the slaughter of those mercenaries upon whom they lighted by chance in their own flight, finding them behind their army, and the retaining of their dead bodies, it was a ceremony

regardable only among the Greeks, and served merely for ostentation, shewing that by the fight they had obtained somewhat which the enemy could not get from them otherwise than by request. But the Thebans arrived at the general immediate end of battle, none daring to abide them in the field; whereof a manifest confession is expressed from them, who forsake the place which they had chosen or accepted, as indifferent for trial of their ability and prowess. This was the last work of the incomparable virtue of Epaminondas, who being in the head of that warlike troop of men which broke the Lacedæmonian squadron, and forced it to give back in disarray, was furiously charged on the sudden by a desperate company of the Spartans, who all at once threw their darts at him alone; whereby receiving many wounds, he nevertheless with a singular courage maintained the fight, using against the enemies many of their darts, which he drew out of his own body, till at length by a Spartan, called Anticrates, he received so violent a stroke with a dart, that the wood of it brake, leaving the iron and a piece of the truncheon in his breast. Hereupon he sunk down, and was soon conveyed out of the fight by his friends, having by his fall somewhat animated the Spartans, (who fain would have got his body,) but much more inflamed with revengeful indignation the Thebans, who, raging at this heavy mischance, did with great slaughter compel their disordered enemies to leave the field, though long they followed not the chase, being wearied more with the sadness of this disaster than with all the travail of the day. Epaminondas, being brought into his tent, was told by the physicians, that when the head of the dart should be drawn out of his body he must needs die. Hearing this, he called for his shield, which to have lost was held a great dishonour: it was brought unto him. He bade them tell him which part had the victory; answer was made, that the Bœotians had won the field. Then, said he, it is fair time for me to die; and withal sent for Iolidas and Diophantes, two principal men of war, that were both slain; which being

told him, he advised the Thebans to make peace, whilst with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to discharge the office of a general. Herewithal he willed that the head of the weapon should be drawn out of his body, comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of issue, by telling them that the victories of Leuctra and Mantinea were two fair daughters, in whom his memory should live.

So died Epaminondas, the worthiest man that ever was bred in that nation of Greece, and hardly to be matched in any age or country; for he equalled all others in the several virtues which in each of them were singular. His justice and sincerity, his temperance, wisdom, and high magnanimity were no way inferior to his military virtue; in every part whereof he so excelled, that he could not properly be called a wary, a valiant, a politic, a bountiful, or an industrious and a provident captain; all these titles, and many other, being due unto him, which, with his notable discipline and good conduct, made a perfect composition of an heroic general. Neither was his private conversation unanswerable to those high parts which gave him praise abroad. For he was grave, and yet very affable and courteous; resolute in public business, but in his own particular easy, and of much mildness; a lover of his people, bearing with men's infirmities, witty and pleasant in speech, far from insolence, master of his own affections, and furnished with all qualities that might win and keep love. To these graces were added great ability of body, much eloquence, and very deep knowledge in all parts of philosophy and learning, wherewith his mind being enlightened, rested not in the sweetness of contemplation, but brake forth into such effects as gave unto Thebes, which had evermore been an underling, a dreadful reputation among all people adjoining, and the highest command in Greece.

SECT. VIII.

Of the peace concluded in Greece after the battle of Mantinea. The voyage of Agesilaus into Egypt. His death and qualities, with an examination of the comparison made between him and Pompey the Roman.

THIS battle of Mantinea was the greatest that ever had been fought in that country between the naturals, and the last. For at Marathon and Platæa the populous armies of the barbarous nations gave rather a great fame, than a hard trial to the Grecian valour; neither were the practice of arms and art military so perfect in the beginnings of the Peloponnesian war, as long continuance and daily exercise had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, those excepted which were undertaken against foreign enemies, proving for the most part unfortunate. But in this last fight all Greece was interested, which never had more able soldiers and brave commanders, nor ever contended for victory with greater care of the success, or more obstinate resolution. All which notwithstanding, the issue being such as hath been related, it was found best for every particular estate that a general peace should be established, every one retaining what he presently had, and none being forced to depend upon another. The Messenians were by name comprised in this new league, which caused the Lacedæmonians not to enter into it. Their standing out hindered not the rest from proceeding to conclusion; considering that Sparta was now too weak to offend her neighbours, and therefore might well be allowed to shew that anger in ceremonies, which had no power to declare itself in execution. This peace, as it gave some breath and refreshing to all the country, so to the cities of Athens and Sparta it afforded leisure to seek after wealth by foreign employment in Egypt, whither Agesilaus was sent with some small forces to assist, or indeed as a mercenary to serve under Tachos, king of Egypt, in his war upon Syria. Chabrias the Athenian, who had before commanded under Acoris king of Egypt, went now as a

voluntary, with such forces as he could raise by entreaty, and offer of good pay, to the same service. These Egyptian kings, descended from Amyrtæus of Sais, who rebelled against Darius Nothus, having retained the country notwithstanding all intestine dissensions and foreign invasions, during three generations of their own race, were so well acquainted with the valour of the Greeks, that by their help (easily procured with gold) they conceived great hope, not only to assure themselves, but to become lords of the provinces adjoining, which were held by the Persian. What the issue of this great enterprise might have been, had it not fallen by domestical rebellion, it is uncertain. But very likely it is, that the rebellion itself had soon come to nothing, if Agesilaus had not proved a false traitor, joining with Nectanebus, who rose against his prince, and helping the rebel with that army which the money of Tachos had waged. This falsehood Agesilaus excused, as tending to the good of his own country, though it seem rather that he grudged, because the king took upon himself the conduct of the army, using his service only as lieutenant, who had made full account of being appointed the general. Howsoever it came to pass, Tachos, being shamefully betrayed by them in whom he had reposed his chief confidence, fled unto the Persian, who upon his submission gave him gentle entertainment; and Nectanebus (who seems to have been the nephew of Tachos) reigned in his stead. At the same time the citizens of Mendes had set up another king, to whom all or most of the Egyptians yielded their obedience. But Agesilaus fighting with him in places of advantage, prevailed so far, that he left Nectanebus in quiet possession of the kingdom, who, in recompense of his treason to the former king Tachos, and good service done to himself, rewarded him with two hundred and thirty talents of silver, with which booty sailing homewards, he died by the way. He was a prince very temperate and valiant, and a good leader in war, free from covetousness, and not reproached with any blemish of lust; which praises are the less ad-

mirable in him, for that the discipline of Sparta was such as did endue every one of the citizens (not carried away by the violent stream of an ill nature) with all, or the chief of these good qualities. He was nevertheless very arrogant, perverse, unjust, and vainglorious, measuring all things by his own will, and obstinately prosecuting those courses whose ends were beyond hope. The expedition of Xenophon had filled him with an opinion, that by his hand the empire of Persia should be overthrown; with which conceit being transported, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the Thebans and their allies, he did ever after bear such hatred unto Thebes, as compelled that estate by mere necessity to grow warlike, and able, to the utter dishonour of Sparta, and the irreparable loss of all her former greatness. The commendations given to him by Xenophon, his good friend, have caused Plutarch to lay his name in the balance against Pompey the Great, whose actions (the solemn gravity of carriage excepted) are very disproportionable. Yet we may truly say, that as Pompey made great wars under sundry climates, and in all the provinces of the Roman empire, exceeding in the multitude of employments all that were before him, so Agesilaus had at one time or other some quarrel with every town in Greece, had made a war in Asia, and meddled in the business of the Egyptians, in which variety he went beyond all his predecessors; yet not winning any countries, as Pompey did many, but obtaining large wages, which Pompey never took. Herein also they are very like; each of them was the last great captain which his nation brought forth in time of liberty, and each of them ruined the liberty of his country by his own lordly wilfulness. We may therefore well say, *similia magis omnia quam paria*, "the resemblance was nearer than the "equality." Indeed the freedom of Rome was lost with Pompey, falling into the hands of Cæsar, whom he had enforced to take arms; yet the Roman empire stood, the form of government only being changed, but the liberty of Greece, or of Sparta itself, was not forfeited unto the The-

bans, whom Agesilaus had compelled to enter into a victorious war; yet the seigniory and ancient renown of Sparta was presently lost: and the freedom of all Greece being wounded in this Theban war, and after much blood lost, ill healed by the peace ensuing, did very soon upon the death of Agesilaus give up the ghost; and the lordship of the whole country was seized by Philip king of Macedon, whose actions are now on foot, and more to be regarded than the contemporary passages of things in any other nation.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

THE FIRST PART

OF THE

HISTORY

OF THE

WORLD:

ENTREATING OF THE

TIMES FROM THE REIGN OF PHILIP OF MACEDON, TO THE ESTABLISHING OF THAT KINGDOM IN THE RACE OF ANTIGONUS.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

Of Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, king of Macedon.

SECT. I.

What kings reigned in Macedon before Philip.

THE Greeks, of whom we have already made large discourse, not as yet wearied with intestine war, nor made wise by their vain contention for superiority, do still, as in former times, continue the invasion and vastation of each other.

Against Xerxes, the greatest monarch of that part of the world, they defended their liberty with as happy success as ever nation had, and with no less honour than hath ever been acquired by deeds of arms. And having had a trial

and experience more than fortunate against those nations, they so little regarded what might come from them, who had so often forfeited the reputation of their forces, as whatsoever could be spared from their own distraction at home they transported over the Hellespont, as sufficient to entertain and busy them withal.

But as it commonly falleth out with every man of mark in the world, that they underfall and perish by the hands and arms which they least fear; so fared it at this time with the Greeks. For of Philip of Macedon (of whom we are now to speak) they had so little regard, as they grew even then more violent in devouring each other, when the fast-growing greatness of such a neighbour-king should, in regard of their own safety, have served them for a strong argument of union and accord. But the glory of their Persian victories, wherewith they were pampered and made proud, taught them to neglect all nations but themselves, and the rather to value at little the power and purposes of the Macedonians, because those kings and states, which sat nearer them than they did, had in the time of Amyntas, the father of Philip, so much weakened them, and won upon them, that they were not (as the Grecians persuaded themselves) in any one age likely to recover their own, much less to work any wonders against their borderers. And indeed it was not in their philosophy to consider, that all great alterations are storm-like, sudden and violent; and that it is then overlate to repair the decayed and broken banks, when great rivers are once swollen, fast-running, and enraged. No, the Greeks did rather employ themselves in breaking down those defences which stood between them and this inundation, than seek to rampart and reinforce their own fields, which by the level of reason they might have found to have lain under it. It was therefore well concluded by Orosius, [a] *Græciæ civitates dum imperare singulæ cupiunt, imperium omnes, perdiderunt*; "The cities "of Greece lost their command, by striving each of them "to command all."

[a] Orosius, l. 3. c. 12.

The kingdom of Macedon, so called of Macedon the son of Osiris, or, as other authors affirm, of Jupiter and Æthra, is the next region towards the north which bordereth Greece; it hath to the east the Ægean sea; it is bounded on the north and north-west by the Thracians and Illyrians, and on the south and south-west by Thessaly and Epirus.

Their kings were of the family of Temenus, of the race of Hercules, and by nation Argives, who are listed as followeth. About some six years after the translation of the Assyrian empire, Arbaces then governing Media, Caranus of Argos, commanded by an oracle to lead a colony into Macedon, departed thence with many people; and as he was marching through that country, the weather being rainy and tempestuous, he espied a great herd of goats, which fled the storm as fast as they could, hasting them to their known place of covert. Whereupon Caranus calling to mind that he had also by [b] another oracle been directed to follow the first troop of those beasts that should either lead him or fly before him, he pursued these goats to the gates of Edessa, and being undiscovered by the inhabitants, by reason of the darkness of the air, he entered their city without resistance, and possessed it. [c] Soon after this, by the overthrow of Cisseus, Caranus became lord of the rest of Macedon, and held it eight and twenty years. Cœnus succeeded Caranus, and reigned twelve years. Tyrimas followed Cœnus, and ruled eight and twenty years.

Perdiccas the first, the son of Tyrimas, governed one and fifty years; a prince, for his great valour and many other virtues, much renowned. [d] Solinus, Pliny, Justin, Eusebius, Theophilus Antiochenus, and others affirm, that he appointed a place of burial for himself, and for all the kings of Macedon his successors, at Ægæ; assuring them, that the kingdom should so long continue in his line and race, as they continued to lay up their bodies in that sepulchre; wherein it is said, that because Alexander the Great failed, therefore the posterity of the Temenidæ failed in him; a thing

[b] Paus. Dion. Chus. Theop. Antios. 6. [d] Sol. c. 14. Plin. l. 4. c. 10.
[c] Euseb. in Chron.

rather devised after the effect, as I conceive, than foretold by Perdiccas.

[e] Argæus succeeded unto Perdiccas, and ruled eight and twenty years.

Philip the first, his successor, reigned eight and twenty years.

Europus followed Philip, and governed six and twenty years; in whose infancy the Illyrians invaded Macedon, and having obtained a great victory, they pursued the same to the great danger of that state. Whereupon the Macedonians gathering new forces, and resolving either to recover their former loss, or to lose at once both their kingdom and their king, they carried him with them in his cradle into the field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their nation could not be beaten, (their king present,) or rather they persuaded themselves that there was no man so void of honour and compassion, as to [f] abandon their natural lord, being an infant, and no way (but by the hands of his servants) able to defend himself from destruction. The like is reported by Aimoinus, of Clotarius the son of Fredegunda.

Alcetas succeeded Æropus, and ruled nine and twenty years.

Amyntas the first succeeded Alcetas, and reigned fifty years; he lived at such time as Darius Hystaspes, after his unprosperous return out of Scythia, sent Megabazus with an army into Europe, who in Xerxes' name required Amyntas to acknowledge him for his supreme lord, by yielding unto him earth and water. But his ambassadors, as you have heard before, were, for their insolent behaviour towards the [g] Macedonian ladies, slain by the direction of Alexander, who was the son of Amyntas, and his successor.

Alexander, surnamed the Rich, the son of Amyntas, governed Macedon three and forty years. He did not only appease the wrath of Megabazus for the slaughter of the Persian ambassadors, by giving Gygæa his sister to Bubares

[e] Euseb. in Chron. &c. Aimon. l. 3. c. 82.
[f] Euseb. Justin. Ammian. The. Ant. [g] Her. Euseb. Justin. &c.

of the blood of Persia, but by that match he grew so great in Xerxes' grace, as he obtained all that region between the mountains of Olympus and Hemus to be united to the kingdom of Macedon. Yet could not these benefits buy his affection from the Greeks. For Xerxes being returned into Asia, and Mardonius made general of the Persian army, [h] Alexander acquainted the Greeks with all his intents and purposes against them. He had three sons, Perdiccas, Alcetas, and Philip.

Perdiccas the second, the son of Alexander, lived in the time of the Peloponnesian war, and reigned in all eight and twenty years. The wars which he made were not much remarkable; the story of them is found here and there by pieces in Thucydides' first six books. He left behind him two sons, Perdiccas, who was very young, and Archelaus, who was base born.

Perdiccas the third, being delivered to the custody and care of Archelaus, was at seven years of age cast into a well and drowned, by his false guardian; who excusing this fact to Cleopatra the mother of the young king, said, that the child in following a goose hastily fell thereinto by misadventure. But Archelaus stayed not here; for having thus despatched his brother, he slew both his uncle Alcetas, the son of Alexander the Rich, and Alexander the son of this Alcetas, his cousin-german, and enjoyed the kingdom of Macedon himself four and twenty years.

This [i] Archelaus, of whom both Plato and Aristotle make mention, though he made himself king by wicked murder, yet he performed many things greatly to the profit of his nation. It is said, that he sought by all means to draw Socrates unto him, and that he greatly loved and honoured Euripides the tragedian. He had two sons, Archelaus and Orestes.

Archelaus the second succeeded his father, and having reigned seven years, he was slain in hunting, either by chance or of purpose, by Cratæus.

Orestes his younger son was committed to the education

[h] Her. l. 8. Plut. Euseb. Just. &c. [i] Plat. in Gorg. Arist. Pol. 5.

of Æropus, of the royal blood of Macedon, and had the same measure which Archelaus had measured to his pupil; for Æropus murdered him, and usurped the kingdom, which he held some six years: the same who denied-passage to Agesilaus king of Sparta, who desired after his return from the Asian expedition to pass by the way of Macedon into Greece.

[k] This usurper left three sons, Pausanias, Argæus, and Alexander. Pausanias succeeded his father Æropus, and having reigned one year, he was driven out by Amyntas the son of Philip, the son of the first Perdiccas, the son of Alexander the Rich; which Philip was then preserved, when Archelaus the bastard slew his brother Perdiccas, his uncle Alcetas, and his son Alexander. This Amyntas reigned (though very unquietly) four and twenty years; for he was not only infested by Pausanias, assisted by the Thracians, and by his brother Argæus; encouraged by the Illyrians; and by the said Argæus, for two years dispossessed of Macedon; but on the other side, the Olynthians, his neighbours near the Ægean sea, made themselves for a while masters of Pella, the chief city of Macedon.

Amyntas the second had by his wife Eurydice the Illyrian three sons; Alexander the second, Perdiccas the third, and Philip the second, father of Alexander the Great; and one daughter called Euryone, or Exione: he had also by his second wife Gygea, three sons, Archelaus, Argæus, and Menelaus, afterward slain by their brother Philip. He had more by a concubine, Ptolemy, surnamed Alorites, of the city Alorus, wherein he was born.

Alexander the second reigned not much above one year, in which time he was invaded by Pausanias, the son of Æropus, but defended by Iphicrates the Athenian, while he was at that time about Amphipolis. He was also constrained (for the payment of a great sum of money) to leave his youngest brother Philip in hostage with the Illyrians, who had subjected his father Amyntas to the payment of tribute. After this, Alexander, being invited by the Aleuadæ against

[k] Diod. Polyæn. Plut. in Demet.

Alexander the tyrant of Pheres in Thessaly, having redeemed his brother Philip, to draw the Thebans to his assistance entered into confederacy with Pelopidas, being at that time in the same country, with whom he also left Philip, with divers other principal persons for the gage of his promises to Pelopidas. But Eurydice his mother falling in love with her son-in-law, who had married her daughter Euryone, or Exione, practised the death of Alexander her son, with a purpose to confer the kingdom on her paramour, which Ptolemy Alorites did put in execution; by means whereof he held Macedon for three years, but was soon after slain by Perdiccas the brother of Alexander. [l] Diodore hath it otherwise of Philip's being made pledge, and saith, that Amyntas his father delivered him for hostage to the Illyrians, by whom he was conveyed to Thebes, there to be kept; others report that Philip (while his father was yet living) was first engaged to the Thebans, and delivered for hostage a second time by Alexander his brother.

Perdiccas the third, after he had slain Alorites his base brother, governed Macedon five years, and was then slain in a battle against the Illyrians, according to Diodorus; but [m] Justin affirmeth, that he perished by the practice of Eurydice his mother, as Alexander did.

SECT. II.

The beginning of Philip's reign, and how he delivered Macedon from the troubles wherein he found it entangled.

PHILIP the second, the youngest son of Amyntas by Eurydice, having been instructed in all knowledge requisite unto the government of a kingdom in that excellent education which he had under Epaminondas, [n] making an escape from Thebes, returned into Macedon in the first year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, which was after the building of Rome three hundred fourscore and thirteen years; and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the kingdom was environed, he took on him, not as king, (for

[l] Diod. l. 15. et 16. [m] Just. l. 7. [n] Diod. l. 16.

Perdiccas left a son, though but an infant,) but as the protector of his nephew, and commander of the men of war. Yet his fruitful ambition soon overgrew his modesty, and he was easily persuaded by the people to accept both the title of king, and withal the absolute rule of the kingdom. And to say the truth, the necessity of the state of Macedon at that time required a king both prudent and active. For, besides the incursions of the Illyrians and Pannonians, the king of Thrace did set up in opposition Pausanias; the Athenians, Argæus; sons of the late usurper Æropus; each of these labouring to place in Macedon a king of their own election. These heavy burdens when Philip could not well bear, he bought off the weightiest by money, and by fair promises unloaded himself of so many of the rest, as he ran under the remainder happily enough. For, notwithstanding that his brother Perdiccas had his death accompanied with four thousand Macedonians, beside these that were wounded and taken prisoners; and that the Pannonians were destroying all before them in Macedon; and that the Athenians with a fleet by sea, and three thousand soldiers by land under Mantias, did beat upon him on all sides and quarters of his country; yet after he had practised the men of war of Pannonia, and corrupted them with gifts; and had also bought the king of Thrace from Pausanias, he forthwith made head against the Athenians his stiffest enemies; and, for the first, he prevented their recovery of Amphipolis, a city on the frontier of Macedon; and did then pursue Argæus the son of Æropus, set against him by the Athenians, and followed him so hard at the heels in his retreat from Æges, that he forced him to abide the battle; which Argæus lost, having the greatest part of his army slain in the place. Those of the Athenians, and others which remained unbroken, took the advantage of a strong piece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet avoiding thereby the present fury of the soldiers, they obtained of the vanquishers life and liberty to return into Attica. Whereupon a peace was con-

cluded between him and the Athenians for that present, and for this clemency he was greatly renowned and honoured by all the Greeks.

SECT. III.

The good success which Philip had in many enterprises.

NOW had Philip leisure to look northward, and to attend the Illyrians and Pœonians, his irreconcilable enemies and borderers; both which he invaded with so prosperous success, as he slew Bardillis, king of the Illyrians, with seven thousand of his nation, and thereby recovered all those places which the Illyrians held in Macedon; and withal, upon the death of the king of Pannonia, he pierced that country, and after a main victory obtained, he enforced them to pay him tribute. This was no sooner done, than (without staying to take longer breath) he hasted speedily towards Larissa, upon the river Peneus in Thessaly, of which town he soon made himself master; and thereby he got good footing in that country, whereof he made use in time following. Now although he resolved either to subdue the Thessalians, or to make them his own against all others, because the horsemen of that country were the best and most feared in that part of Europe; yet he thought it most for his safety to close up the entrances out of Thrace, lest, while he invaded Thessaly and Greece towards the south, those ample nations, lying towards the north, should either withdraw him, or overrun Macedon, as in former times. He therefore attempted Amphipolis, seated on the famous river of Strimon, which parteth Thrace from Macedon, and won it. He also recovered Pydna; and (to the north of Amphipolis) the city of Crenides, (sometime Datus,) and called it after his own name Philippi; to the people whereof St. Paul afterward directed one of his Epistles. This place wherein Philippi stood is very rich in mines of gold, out of which, greatly to the advancement of Philip's affairs, he drew yearly a thousand talents, which make six hundred thousand French crowns.

And that he might with the more ease disburden the

Thracian shores of the Athenian garrisons, to which he had given a great blow by the taking in of Amphipolis, he entered into league with his father's malicious enemies the Olynthians, whom the better to fasten unto him, he gave them the city of Pydna with the territory, meaning nothing less than that they should enjoy it, or their own estate, many years.

Now that he might by degrees win ground upon the Greeks, he took the fair occasion to deliver the city of Pheres in Thessaly from the tyranny of Lycophron and Tisiphonus. Who after they had conspired with Thebe the wife of Alexander, who usurped upon the liberty of that state, they themselves (Alexander being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppression that Alexander did, till by the assistance of Philip they were beaten out, and Pheres restored to her former liberty. Which act of Philip did for ever after fasten the Thessalians unto him, and, to his exceeding great advantage, bind them to his service.

SECT. IV.

Of the Phocian war which first drew Philip into Greece.

ABOUT this time, to wit, in the second year of the hundred and sixth Olympiad, eight years after the battle of Mantinea, and about the eighth year of Artaxerxes Ochus, began that war called Sacred. Now as all occasions concur towards the execution of eternal Providence, and of every great alteration in the world there is some preceding preparation, though not at the first easily discerned; so did this revengeful hatred by the Thebans, Thessalians, and Locrians, conceived against the Phocians, not only teach Philip how he might with half a hand wrest the sword out of their fingers; but the Greeks themselves beating down their own defences to give him an easy passage, and beating themselves to give him victory without peril, left nothing unperformed towards their own slavery, saving the title and imposition. Of this war the Thebans (made overproud by their victory at Leuctres) were the inflamers. For at the council of the Amphictyons, or of the general estates

of Greece; in which at that time they swayed most, they caused both the Lacedæmonians and Phocians to be condemned in greater sums of money than they could well bear; the one for surprising the castle of Cadmea in the time of peace, the other for ploughing up a piece of ground belonging to the temple of Delphos. The Phocians being resolved not to obey this edict, were secretly set on and encouraged by the Lacedæmonians; and for refusal were exposed as sacrilegers, and accursed to all their neighbour-nations, for whom it was then lawful to invade and destroy them at their pleasures.

The Phocians, persuaded thereunto by Philomelus, a captain of their own, cast the same dice of hazard that Cæsar after many ages following did, but had not the same chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their own nation. And the better to bear out an ungracious quarrel, of which there was left no hope of composition, they resolved to sack the temple itself. For seeing that for the ploughing of a piece of Apollo's ground, they had so much offended their neighbour-god and their neighbour-nations, as worse could not befall them than already was intended; they resolved to take the gold with the ground, and either to perish for all, or to prevail against all that had commission to call them to account. The treasure which they took out of the temple in the beginning of the war was ten thousand talents, which in those days served them to wage a great many men; and such was their success in the beginning of the war, as they won three great battles against the Thebans, Thessalians, and Locrians, but being beaten in the fourth, their leader Philomelus cast himself headlong over the rocks.

In the mean while the cities of Chersonesus, both to defend themselves against their bad neighbour Philip, who encroached upon them, and to draw others into their quarrel, rendered themselves to the Athenians. Philip prepareth to get them into his hands, and at the siege of Methone lost one of his eyes. It is said, that he that shot him did purposely direct his arrow towards him, and that it was

written on the shaft thereof, [o] *Aster Philippo*, "Aster to "Philip;" for so he was called that gave him the wound. This city he evened with the soil.

The tyrant Lycophron before mentioned, while Philip was busied on the border of Thrace, and the Thessalians engaged in the holy war, entered Thessaly with new forces, being assisted by Onomarchus, commander of the Phocian army in place of Philomelus. For hereby the Phocians hoped so to entertain the Thessalians at home, as they should not find leisure to invade them. Hereupon was Philip the second time called into Thessaly; but both the Thessalians and Macedonians (Philip being present) were utterly overthrown by Onomarchus, and great numbers of both nations lost. From Thessaly Onomarchus drew speedily towards Bœotia, and with the same victorious army brake the forces of the Bœotians, and took from them their city of Coronæa. But Philip, impatient of his late misadventure, after he had reinforced his army, returned with all speed into Thessaly, there to find again the honour which he lately lost; and was the second time encountered by Onomarchus, who brought into the field twenty thousand foot and five hundred horse. All this great preparation sufficed not; for Onomarchus was by Philip surmounted both in numbers and in good fortune, his army overturned, six thousand slain, and three thousand taken; of which number himself being one, was among others hanged by Philip. Those that fled were in part received by the Athenian galleys, which sailed along the coast, commanded by Chares, but the greatest number of those that took the sea were therein devoured ere they recovered them. Lycophron was now again driven out of Thessaly, and Pheres made free as before.

SECT. V.

Of the Olynthian war. The ambitious practices of Philip.

FROM hence Philip resolved to invade Phocis itself; but the Athenians did not favour his entrance into those parts, and therefore with the help of the Lacedæmonians

[o] Plut. Ulpian. Strab. l. 8.

they retrenched his passage at the straits of Thermopylis. Whereupon he returned into Macedon, and after the taking of Micyberne, Torone, and other towns, he quarrelled with the Olynthians, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the Olynthians were very strong, and had evermore both braved and beaten the Macedonians. It is said that Philip having put to death Archelaus his half-brother, (for Amyntas had three sons by Eurydice the mother of Philip, and three other sons by Gygæa; but Philip's elder brothers by the same mother being dead, he determined to rid himself also of the rest,) the two younger held themselves within Olynthus; and that the receiving of them by the Olynthians was the cause of the war, [p] Justin affirmeth. But just quarrels are balanced by just princes; for to this king all things were lawful that might any way serve his turn; all his affections and passions, how diverse soever in other men, were in his ambition swallowed up, and thereinto converted. For he neither forbare the murder of his own brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other men's fidelity; he esteemed no place strong where his ass laden with gold might enter, nor any city or state unconquerable, where a few of the greatest, to be made greater, could lose the sense of other men's sorrow and subjection. And because he thought it vain to practise the winning of Olynthus, till he had enclosed all the power they had within their own walls, he entered their territory, and by the advantage of a well-compounded and trained army he gave them two overthrows ere he sat down before the city itself; which done, he bought Euthicrates and Lasthenes from their people, and from the service of their country and commonweal, by whose treason he entered the town, slew his brothers therein, sacked it, and sold the inhabitants for slaves by the drum. By the spoil of this place he greatly enriched himself, and had treasure sufficient to buy in other cities withal, which he daily did. For so was he advised by the oracle in the beginning of his undertaking,

[p] Just. l. 8.

"That he should make his assaults with silver spears:" whereupon [9] Horace well and truly said,

—— Diffidit urbium
Portas vir Macedo, et subruit æmulos
Reges muneribus. ——
By gifts the Macedon clave gates asunder,
And kings envying his estate brought under.

And it is true that he won more by corruption and fraud than he did by force. For as he had in all the principal cities of Greece his secret workers, (which way of conquest was well followed by Philip the second of Spain,) so, when in the contention between the competitors for the kingdom of Thrace he was chosen the arbitrator, he came not to the council accompanied with piety and justice, but with a powerful army, and having beaten and slain both kings, gave sentence for himself, and made the kingdom his own.

SECT. VI.

How Philip ended the Phocian war.

THE war still continuing between the Phocians and the associates of the holy war, the Bœotians, finding themselves unable to subsist without some present aid, sent unto Philip for succour, who willingly yielded to their necessities, and sent them such a proportion of men as were neither sufficient to master their enemies, nor to assure themselves, but yet to enable them to continue the war, and to waste the strength of Greece. They also sent to Artaxerxes Ochus for supply of treasure, who lent them thirty talents, which makes a hundred and fourscore thousand crowns; but when with these supplies they had still the worst in all their attempts against the Phocians, who held from them three of their strongest cities within Bœotia itself, they then besought Philip of Macedon that he would assist them in person, to whom they would give an entrance into their territory, and in all things obey his commandments in that war.

Now had Philip what he longed for; for he knew himself

[9] Hor. Carm. 3. Od. 16.

in state to give the law to both, and so quitting all his other purposes towards the north, he marched with a speedy pace towards Bœotia, where being arrived, Phallecus, who commanded the Phocian army, fearing to shock with this victorious king, made his own peace, and withdrew himself with a regiment of eight thousand soldiers into Peloponnesus, leaving the Phocians to the mercy of the conqueror, and for conclusion he had the glory of that war called *sacred*, which the Grecians with so many mutual slaughters had continued for ten years, and, besides the glory, he possessed himself of Orchomene, Coronea, and Corsia, in the country of the Bœotians, who invited him to be victorious over themselves. He brought the Phocians into servitude, and wasted their cities, and gave them but their villages to inhabit, reserving to himself the yearly tribute of threescore talents, which make six and thirty thousand French crowns. He also hereby (besides the fame of piety for service of the gods) obtained the same double voice in the council of the Amphictyons which the Phocians had, with the superintendency of the Pythian games, forfeited by the Corinthians by being partakers in the Phocian sacrilege.

SECT. VII.

How Philip with ill success attempted upon Perinthus, Byzantium, and the Scythians.

PHILIP, after his triumphant return into Macedon, by the lieutenant of his army, Parmenio, slaughtered many thousands of the Illyrians and Dardanians, and brought the Thracians to pay him the tenth part of all their revenues. But his next enterprise against the Perinthians stayed his fury. Perinthus was a city of Thrace, seated upon Propontis, in the midway between Sestos and Byzantium, a place of great strength, and a people resolved to defend their liberty against Philip, where the Athenians encouraged and assisted them. Philip sat down before it with a puissant army, made many fair breaches, gave many furious assaults, built many overtopping and commanding towers about it. But he was repelled with equal violence.

For whereas Philip thought by his continual assaults to weary them, and waste both their men and munition, they were supplied, not only from the Persian with men and money, and succoured from Byzantium, which stood upon the same sea-coast, but they were relieved from Athens, Chio, and Rhodes by the conduction of Phocion, with whatsoever was wanting to their necessity. But because those of Byzantium, by reason of their neighbourhood, and the easy passage by water, gave them often and ready help, Philip removed with the one half of his army, and besieged it, leaving fifteen thousand foot before Perinthus, to force it, if they could. But to be short, he failed in both attempts, (as all princes commonly do that undertake divers enterprises at one time,) and returned into Macedon with no less dishonour than loss; whereupon he made an overture of peace with the Athenians, and greatly desired it, to which though Phocion persuaded them in all he could, and that by the occasion offered they might greatly advantage their conditions, yet Demosthenes with his eloquence prevailed in the refusal. In the mean while Philip, having digested his late affront, and supplied his expense by the taking of an hundred and threescore and ten merchants' ships, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his son Alexander led them into Scythia; but he was also unprosperous in this enterprise; for the Triballi, a people of Mœsia, set on him in his return, wounded him, and took from him the greatest part of the spoils which he had gathered.

SECT. VIII.

How Philip overthrowing the Greeks in the battle of Chæronea, was chosen captain-general of Greece. The death of Philip.

AMONG these northern nations (part of which he suppressed, and part quieted) he spent some eight years, and in the ninth year, after the end of the holy war, he was to his great advantage invited again by the Grecians to their assistance. For the citizens of Amphissa having disobeyed the decree of the Amphictyons, in which Philip had a double voice, and who by reason that the Thebans and Lo-

crians gave countenance and aid to the Amphissensians, the rest were not of themselves able to constrain them, they besought Philip to come in person to their assistance. Now you must think that Philip was not long in resolving upon this enterprise; he needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keep back; nor other dissuasion than a mastering power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his army forthwith to march, the same being compounded of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse; and with as much expedition as could be made, he entered Phocis, won Platæa, and brought into subjection all that region.

The rest, and especially the Athenians, although they had good cause to fear that a great part of this storm would fall on themselves, yet were they dissuaded by Demosthenes from accepting such reasonable conditions of peace as Philip offered, and rather made choice (having drawn the Thebans to join with them) to leave the enjoying of their estates and their freedom to the chance of one battle, than to hold it either by composition or by the grace of Philip. But this their orator's eloquence cost them dear. It is true that he could far more easily mind them of the virtue of their ancestors, than make them to be such as they were. He might repeat unto them (with words moving passion) the wonders they wrought at Marathon, but he could not transform the Macedonians into Persians, nor draw from the dead a Miltiades, an Aristides, a Themistocles, or a Cimon, or any of those famous commanders, whose great virtues they had paid with the greatest ingratitude that ever nation did. A Phocion they had, but by the strength of a contrary faction he was at this time in disgrace, and not employed; insomuch as when the armies of Philip and the confederates encountered, although some thousand of the Athenians abode the killing, and the like number well near of the Thebans died with them; yet the want of worthy men on that side to hold up the rest, and to draw them on, and the many choice captains of the Macedonians encouraged by a king of a growing fortune, as it gave to Philip so shining a victory, that Alexander by the light thereof

found his way (in despite of all the nations interjacent) into Persia, India, and Egypt; so it cut to the ground, and gave end and date to all the Grecian glory; yea their liberty, saith Curtius, with their large dominion, won with so many difficulties, continued for so many ages, and so often defended against the greatest kings, was now lost in a moment, and for ever lost.

Now this advised king, (never passionate to his disadvantage,) to the end he might obtain the sovereignty over all Greece, and be acknowledged for their captain-general against the Persians, without any further hazard or trouble, was content to let go those Athenians that were taken at this battle of Chæronea, as he also forbare to attempt any thing against their city; but in Thebes (which lately by the virtue of Epaminondas triumphed over the rest) he lodged a garrison of Macedonians. And being soon after, (according unto the long desire which he had nourished of this sovereignty,) by the general states at Corinth, styled *the first commander of all the Grecians*, and contribution of men and money granted him, he compounded an army of great strength, and under the commandment of Attalus and Parmenio transported the same over the Hellespont into Asia, to begin the war. Of his enterprise against Persia he sought the success from the oracle at Delphos; from whence he received such another convertible riddle as Crœsus did when he attempted Cyrus, and was in like sort mistaken in the exposition.

But as it is hard to discern and withstand the flatteries of our own appetites, so did Philip's ambitious desire to invade Persia abuse his judgment so far, that the death wherewith himself was threatened, he understood to be delivered of his enemy, whom he intended presently to invade. Before his purposed departure into Asia, he prepared for the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra with Alexander king of Epirus; to which feast and pastimes thereat appointed he invited all his friends and allies, with the principal persons of the Grecian cities, from whom he received much honour and many rich presents. But this was indeed

the feast of his funeral. For having refused to do justice to one Pausanias, a gentleman of his guard, whom Attalus (greatly favoured by Philip) had first made drunk, and then left to be carnally abused by divers base persons, this Pausanias grew into so great detestation of the king's partiality in so foul a fact, as when Philip was passing towards the theatre, he drew a sword from under his long garment, and wounded him to death, when he had lived six and forty years, and reigned five and twenty. [r] Justin reports it, that Olympias encouraged Pausanias to murder the king her husband, which after his death she boldly avowed by the honour she did unto Pausanias in crowning his dead body, in consecrating his sword unto Apollo, by building for him a monument, and other like graces.

SECT. IX.

What good foundations of Alexander's greatness were laid by Philip. Of his laudable qualities and issue.

NOW although he were then taken from the world, when he had mastered all opposition on that side the sea, and had seen the fruits of his hopes and labours changing colour towards ripeness and perfection, yet he was herein happy that he lived to see his son Alexander at man's estate, and had himself been an eyewitness of his resolution and singular valour in this last battle.

The foundation of whose future greatness he had laid so soundly for him, with so plain a pattern of the buildings which himself meant to erect, as the performance and finishing was far more easy to Alexander, though more glorious than the beginnings were unto Philip, though less famous. For besides the recovery of Macedon itself, in competition between him and the sons of Æropus, the one assisted by the Thracians, the other by the Athenians, and besides the regaining of many places possessed by the Illyrians, the crushing of all those northern kings his neighbours, the overthrow of Olynthus, a state that despised the power of his father, the many maritimate cities taken, of great strength

[r] Just. l. 9.

and ancient freedom, and the subjection of that famous nation of Greece, which for so many ages had defended itself against the greatest kings of the world, and won upon them, he left unto his son, and had bred up for him so many choice commanders, as the most of them, both for their valour and judgment in the war, were no less worthy of crowns, than himself was that wore a crown; for it was said of Parmenio, (whom Alexander, ungrateful to so great virtue, impiously murdered,) that Parmenio had performed many things, challenging eternal fame, without the king; but the king, without Parmenio, never did any thing worthy of renown. As for the rest of his captains, though content to obey the son of such a father, yet did they not after Alexander's death endure to acknowledge any man superior to themselves.

Of this prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more vices, than nature and his excellent education had enriched him with virtues. For besides that he was valiant, wise, learned, and master of his affections, he had this savour of piety, that he rather laboured to satisfy those that were grieved than to suppress them, whereof (among many other) we find a good example in his dealing with Arcadion and Nicanor, whom, when for their evil speech of Philip, his familiars persuaded him to put to death, he answered them, That first it ought to be considered, whether the fault were in them that gave him ill language, or in himself; secondly, that it was in every man's own power to be well spoken of, and this was shortly proved; for after Philip had relieved their necessities, there were none within his kingdom that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon he told those that had persuaded him to use violence, that he was a better physician for evil speech than they were.

His epistles to Alexander his son are remembered by [s] Cicero and Gellius, and by Dion and Chrysostom exceedingly commended. His stratagems are gathered by Polyænus and Frontinus, his wise sayings by Plutarch;

[s] Cic. Off. 2. Gell. l. 9. c. 3. Dion. 2. de Rege.

and albeit he held Macedon as in his own right all the time of his reign, yet was he not the true and next heir thereof; for Amyntas the son of his brother Perdiccas (of whom he had the protection during his infancy) had the right. This Amyntas he married to his daughter Cyna, who had by him a daughter called Eurydice, who was married to Philip's base son Aridæus, her uncle by the mother's side; both which Olympias, Philip's first wife, and mother to Alexander the Great, put to death; Aridæus by extreme torments, Eurydice she strangled.

Philip had by this Olympias the daughter of Neoptolemus king of the Molossians, (of the race of Achilles,) Alexander the Great and Cleopatra. Cleopatra was married to her uncle Alexander king of Epirus, and was after her brother Alexander's death slain at Sardis by the commandment of Antigonus.

By Audata, an Illyrian, his second wife, he had Cyna, married as is shewed before.

By Nicasipolis, the sister of Jason, tyrant of Pheres, he had Thessalonica, whom Cassander, after he had taken Pidna, married; but she was afterward by her father-in-law Antipater put to death.

By Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus, he had [t]Caranus, whom others call Philip; him Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, caused to be roasted to death in a copper pan. Others lay this murder on Alexander himself. By the same Cleopatra he had likewise a daughter called Europa, whom Olympias also murdered at the mother's breast.

By Phila and Meda he had no issue.

He had also two concubines, Arsinoe, whom, after he had gotten with child, he married to an obscure man, called Lagus, who bare Ptolomy king of Egypt, called the son of Lagus, but esteemed the son of Philip; by Philinna, his second concubine, a public dancer, he had Aridæus, of whom we shall have much occasion to speak hereafter.

[t] Athen. l. 13. c. 2. Just. l. 3.

CHAP. II.

Of Alexander the Great.

SECT. I.

A brief rehearsal of Alexander's doings before he invaded Asia.

ALEXANDER, afterward called the Great, succeeded unto Philip his father; being a prince no less valiant by nature, than by education well instructed, and enriched in all sorts of learning and good arts. He began his reign over the Macedonians four hundred and seventeen years after Rome built, and after his own birth twenty years. The strange dreams of Philip his father, and that one of the gods, in the shape of a snake, begat him on Olympias his mother, I omit as foolish tales; but that the temple of Diana (a work the most magnificent of the world) was burnt upon the day of his birth, and that so strange an accident was accompanied with the news of three several victories obtained by the Macedonians, it was very remarkable, and might with the reason of those times be interpreted for ominous, and foreshewing the great things by Alexander afterward performed. Upon the change of the king, the neighbour-nations, whom Philip had oppressed, began to consult about the recovery of their former liberty, and to adventure it by force of arms. Alexander's young years gave them hope of prevailing, and his suspected severity increased courage in those who could better resolve to die than to live slavishly. But Alexander gave no time to those swelling humours, which might speedily have endangered the health of his estate. For after revenge taken upon the conspirators against his father, whom he slew upon his tomb, and the celebration of his funerals, he first fastened unto him his own nation, by freeing them from all exactions and bodily slavery, other than their service in his wars, and used such kingly austerity towards those that contemned his young years, and such clemency to the rest that persuaded themselves of the cruelty of his disposition, as all affections being pacified at home, he made a present

journey into Peloponnesus, and so well exercised his spirits among them, as, by the counsel of the states of Greece, he was, according to the great desire of his heart, elected captain-general against the Persians, upon which war Philip his father had not only resolved, (who had obtained the same title of general-commander,) but had transported, under the leading of Parmenio and Attalus, a part of his army, to recover some places on Asia side for the safe descent of the rest.

This enterprise against the Persian occupied all Alexander's affections, those fair marks of riches, honour, and large dominion he now shot at both sleeping and waking; all other thoughts and imaginations were either grievous or hateful. But a contrary wind ariseth; for he receiveth advertisement that the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmonians had united themselves against him, and, by assistance from the Persian, hoped for the recovery of their former freedom. Hereto they were persuaded by Demosthenes, himself being thereto persuaded by the gold of Persia; the device he used was more subtle than profitable, for he caused it to be bruited that Alexander was slain in a battle against the Triballes, and brought into the assembly a companion whom he had corrupted to affirm, that himself was present, and wounded in the battle. There is indeed a certain doctrine of policy (as policy is nowadays defined by falsehood and knavery) that devised rumours and lies, if they serve the turn but for a day or two, are greatly available. It is true that common people are sometimes mocked by them, as soldiers are by false alarms in the wars; but in all that I have observed, I have found the success as ridiculous as the invention. For as those that find themselves at one time abused by such like bruits, do at other times neglect their duties when they are upon true reports, and in occasions perilous, summoned to assemble; so do all men in general condemn the venters of such trumpery, and for them fear upon necessary occasions to entertain the truth itself. This labour unlooked for, and loss of time, was not only very grievous to Alexander, but by turning his sword from

the ignoble and effeminate Persians, against which he had directed it, towards the manly and famous Grecians, of whose assistance he thought himself assured, his present undertaking was greatly disordered. But he that cannot endure to strive against the wind shall hardly attain the port which he purposeth to recover; and it no less becometh the worthiest men to oppose misfortunes, than it doth the weakest children to bewail them.

He therefore made such expedition towards these revolters, as that himself, with the army that followed him, brought them the first news of his preparation. Hereupon all stagger, and the Athenians, as they were the first that moved, so were they the first that fainted, seeking by their ambassadors to pacify the king, and to be received again into his grace. Alexander was not long in resolving; for the Persians persuaded him to pardon the Grecians. Wise men are not easily drawn from great purposes by such occasions as may easily be taken off, neither hath any king ever brought to effect any great affair who hath entangled himself in many enterprises at once, not tending to one and the same certain end.

And having now quieted his borderers towards the south, he resolved to assure those nations which lay on the north-side of Macedon, to wit, the Thracians, Triballes, Peones, Getes, Agrians, and other savage people, which had greatly vexed with incursions, not only other of his predecessors, but even Philip his father; with all which, after divers overthrows given them, he made peace, or else brought them into subjection. Notwithstanding this good success, he could not yet find the way out of Europe. There is nothing more natural to man than liberty; the Greeks had enjoyed it overlong, and lost it too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the yoke once again. The Thebans, who had in their citadel a garrison of a thousand Macedons, attempt to force it; Alexander hasteth to their succour, and presents himself with thirty thousand foot, all old soldiers, and three thousand horse, before the city, and gave the inhabitants some days to resolve, being even heartsick

with the desire of passing into Asia. So unwilling indeed he was to draw blood of the Grecians, by whom he hoped to serve himself elsewhere, that he offered the Thebans remission, if they would only deliver into his hands Phœnix and Prothytes, the stirrers up of the rebellion. But they, opposing the mounting fortune of Alexander, (which bare all resistance before it, like the breaking in of the ocean-sea,) instead of such an answer as men besieged and abandoned should have made, demanded Philotas and Antipater to be delivered unto them, as if Thebes alone, then laid in the balance of fortune with the kingdom of Macedon and many other provinces, could either have evened the scale or swayed it. Therefore in the end they perished in their obstinacy. For while the Thebans oppose the army assailant, they are charged at the back by the Macedonian garrison, their city taken and rased to the ground, six thousand slain, and thirty thousand sold for slaves, at the price of four hundred and forty talents. This the king did, to the terror of the other Grecian cities.

Many arguments were used by Cleadas, one of the prisoners, to persuade Alexander to forbear the destruction of Thebes. He prayed the king to believe that they were rather misled by giving hasty credit to false reports, than any way malicious; for, being persuaded of Alexander's death, they rebelled but against his successor. He also besought the king to remember, that his father Philip had his education in that city, yea, that his ancestor Hercules was born therein; but all persuasions were fruitless; the times wherein offences are committed do greatly aggravate them. Yet, for the honour he bare to learning, he pardoned all of the race of Pindarus the poet, and spared and set at liberty Timoclea, the sister of Theagenes, who died in defence of the liberty of Greece against his father Philip. This noble woman being taken by a Thracian, and by him ravished, he threatened to take her life, unless she would confess her treasure; she led the Thracian to a well, and told him that she had therein cast it; and when the Thracian stooped to

look into the well, she suddenly thrust him into the mouth thereof, and stoned him to death.

Now because the Athenians had received into their city so many of the Thebans as had escaped and fled unto them for succour, Alexander would not grant them peace, but upon condition to deliver into his hands both their orators, which persuaded this second revolt, and their captains; yet in the end, it being a torment unto him to retard the enterprise of Persia, he was content that the orators should remain, and accepted of the banishment of the captains; wherein he was exceeding ill advised, had not his fortune, or rather the providence of God, made all the resistance against him unprofitable: for these good leaders of the Grecians betook themselves to the service of the Persian, whom after a few days he invadeth.

SECT. II.

How Alexander, passing into Asia, fought with the Persians upon the river of Granicus.

WHEN all was now quieted at home, Alexander, committing to the trust of Antipater both Greece and Macedon, in the first of the spring did pass the Hellespont, and being ready to disembark, he threw a dart towards the Asian shore as a token of defiance, commanding his soldiers not to make any waste in their own territory, or to burn or deface those buildings which themselves were presently and in the future to possess. He landed his army, consisting of two and thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, all old soldiers, near unto Troy, where he offered a solemn sacrifice upon Achilles' tomb, his maternal ancestor.

But before he left his own coast, he put to death, without any offence given him, all his mother-in-law's kinsmen, whom Philip his father had greatly advanced, not sparing such of his own as he suspected. He also took with him many of his tributary princes, of whose fidelity he doubted; thinking by unjust cruelty to assure all things, both in the present and future. Yet the end of all fell out contrary to

the policy which his ambition had commended unto him, though agreeing very well with the justice of God; for all that he had planted was soon after withered and rooted up; those whom he most trusted were the most traitorous; his mother, friends, and children fell by such another merciless sword as his own; and all manner of confusion followed his dead body to the grave, and left him there.

When the knowledge of Alexander's landing on Asia side was brought to Darius, he so much scorned the army of Macedon, and had so contemptible an opinion of Alexander himself, as having styled him his *servant* on a letter which he wrote unto him, reprehending his disloyalty and audacity, (for Darius entitled himself *king of kings*, and *the kinsman of the gods*,) he gave order withal to his lieutenants of the Lesser Asia, that they should take Alexander alive, whip him with rods, and then convey him to his presence; that they should sink his ships, and send the Macedons taken prisoners beyond the Red sea, belike into Ethiopia, or some other unhealthful part of Africa.

In this sort did this glorious king, confident in the glittering, but heartless multitude which he commanded, dispose of the already vanquished Macedonians: but the ill destinies of men bear them to the ground, by what strong confidence soever armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, and brought in one heap into the field, gave rather an exceeding advantage to his enemies, than any discouragement at all. For besides that they were men utterly unacquainted with dangers, men who by the name and countenance of their king were wont to prevail against those of less courage than themselves, men that took more care how to embroider with gold and silver their upper garments, as if they attended the invasion but of the sunbeams, than they did to arm themselves with iron and steel against the sharp pikes, swords, and darts of the hardy Macedonians; I say, besides all these, even the opinion they had of their own numbers, of which every one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turn to fight, filled every of them with the care of their own safety, without any intent at all

to hazard any thing but their own breath, and that of their horses, in running away. The Macedonians, as they came to fight, and thereby to enrich themselves with the gold and jewels of Persia, both which they needed, so the Persians, who expected nothing in that war but blows and wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the king, who had power to constrain them in assembling themselves for his service; but their own fears and cowardice, which in time of danger had most power over them, they only then obeyed, when their rebellion against so servile a passion did justly and violently require it. For, saith Vegetius, *Quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles prælium cupit, ita formidat indoctus; nam sciendum est in pugna usum amplius prodesse quam vires*; "As the well-practised soldier desires to come "to battle, so the raw one fears it: for we must under-"stand, that in fight it more avails to have been accustomed "unto the like, than only to have rude strength." What manner of men the Persians were, Alexander discovered in the first encounter; before which time it is said by those that writ his story, that it was hard to judge, whether his daring to undertake the conquest of an empire so well peopled with a handful of men, or the success he had, were more to be wondered at. For at the river of Granick, which severeth the territory of Troy from Propontis, the Persians sought to stop his passage, taking the higher ground and bank of the river to defend, which Alexander was forced (as it were) to climb up unto, and scale from the level of the water. Great resistance, saith Curtius, was made by the Persians; yet in the end Alexander prevailed. But it seems to me, that the victory then gotten was exceeding easy, and that the twenty thousand Persian footmen, said to be slain, were rather killed in the back in running away, than hurt in the bosoms by resisting. For had those twenty thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horsemen, or, after Plutarch, two thousand and five hundred horsemen, died with their faces towards the Macedonians, Alexander could not have bought their lives at so small a rate, as with the loss of four and thirty of all sorts of his

own. And if it were also true that Plutarch doth report, how Alexander encountered two of the Persian commanders, Spithridates and Rhosaces, and that the Persian horsemen fought with great fury, though in the end scattered; and lastly, how those Grecians in Darius's pay holding themselves in one body upon a piece of ground of advantage, did (after mercy was refused them) fight it out to the last; how doth it then resemble truth, that such resistance having been made, yet of Alexander's army there fell but twelve footmen, and two and twenty horsemen?

SECT. III.

A digression concerning the defence of hard passages. Of things following the battle of Granick.

THE winning of this passage did greatly encourage the Macedonians, and brought such terror upon all those of the Leaser Asia, as he obtained all the kingdoms thereof without a blow, some one or two towns excepted. For in all invasions, where the nations invaded have once been beaten upon a great advantage of the place, as in defence of rivers, straits, and mountains, they will soon have persuaded themselves, that such an enemy, upon equal terms and even ground, can hardly be resisted. It was therefore Machiavel's counsel, that he which resolveth to defend a passage should with his ablest force oppose the assailant. And to say truth, few regions of any great circuit are so well fenced, that armies, of such force as may be thought sufficient to conquer them, can be debarred all entrance by the natural difficulty of the ways. One passage or other is commonly left unguarded; if all be defended, then must the forces of the country be distracted, and yet lightly some one place will be found that is defended very weakly. How often have the Alps given way to armies breaking into Italy, yea, where shall we find that ever they kept out an invader? Yet are they such as (to speak briefly) afflict with all difficulties those that travel over them; but they give no security to those that lie behind them, for they are of too large extent. The towns of Lombardy persuaded them-

selves that they might enjoy their quiet, when the warlike nation of the Switzers had undertaken to hinder Francis the French king from descending into the duchy of Milan; but whilst these patrons of Milan, whom their own dwelling in those mountains had made fittest of all other for such a service, were busied in custody of the Alps, Francis appeared in Lombardy, to so much the greater terror of the inhabitants, by how much the less they had expected his arrival. What shall we say of those mountains, which lock up whole regions in such sort, as they leave but one gate open? The straits, or (as they were called) the gates of Taurus in Cilicia, and those of Thermopylæ, have seldom been attempted, perhaps because they were thought impregnable; but how seldom (if ever) have they been attempted in vain. Xerxes, and long after him the Romans, forced the entrance of Thermopylæ; Cyrus the younger, and after him Alexander, found the gates of Cilicia wide open; how strongly soever they had been locked and barred, yet were those countries open enough to a fleet that should enter on the back side. The defence of rivers, how hard a thing it is, we find examples in all histories that bear good witness. The deepest have many fords, the swiftest and broadest may be passed by boats, in case it be found a matter of difficulty to make a bridge. He that hath men enough to defend all the length of his own bank hath also enough to beat his enemy; and may therefore do better to let him come over, to his loss, than by striving in vain to hinder the passage, as a matter tending to his own disadvantage, fill the heads of his soldiers with an opinion that they are in ill case, having their means of safeguard taken from them by the skill or valour of such as are too good for them. Certainly if a river were sufficient defence against an army, the isle of Mona, now called Anglesea, which is divided from North Wales by an arm of the sea, had been safe enough against the Romans invading it under conduct of Julius Agricola. But he wanting, and not meaning to spend the time in making vessels to transport his forces, did assay the fords. Whereby he so amazed the enemies at-

tending for ships and such like provision by sea, that surely believing nothing could be hard or invincible to men which came so minded to war, they humbly entreated for peace, and yielded the island. Yet the Britains were men stout enough, the Persians very dastards.

It was therefore wisely done of Alexander to pass the river of Granick in face of the enemy, not marching higher to seek an easier way, nor labouring to convey his men over it by some safer means. For having beaten them upon their own ground, he did thereby cut off no less of their reputation than of their strength, leaving no hope of succour to the partakers and followers of such unable protectors.

Soon after this victory he recovered Sardis, Ephesus, the cities of the Trallians and Magnesia, which were rendered unto him. The inhabitants of which, with the people of the country, he received with great grace, suffering them to be governed by their own laws. For he observed it well, *Novum imperium inchoantibus utilis clementiæ fama*; "It "is commodious unto such as lay the foundations of a new "sovereignty to have the fame of being merciful." He then by Parmenio won Miletus, and by force mastered Halicarnassus, which, because it resisted obstinately, he rased to the ground. From thence he entered into Caria, where Ada the queen, who had been cast out of all that she held (except the city of Alinda) by Darius's lieutenants, presented herself unto him, and adopted him her son and successor; which Alexander accepted in so gracious part, as he left the whole kingdom to her disposing. He then entered into Lycia and Pamphylia, and obtained all the sea-coasts; and subjecting unto him Pisidia, he directed himself towards Darius (who was said to be advanced towards him with a marvellous army) by the way of Phrygia: for all the province of Asia the Less, bordering upon the sea, his first victory laid under his feet.

While he gave order for the government and settling of Lycia and Pamphylia, he sent Cleander to raise some new companies in Peloponnesus, and marching towards the north, he entered Celenas, seated on the river Mæander,

which was abandoned unto him, the castle only holding out, which also after forty days was given up; for so long time he gave them to attend succour from Darius. From Celenas he passed on through Phrygia towards the Euxine sea, till he came to a city called Gordium, the regal seat, in former times, of king Midas. In this city it was that he found the Gordian knot, which, when he knew not how to undo, he cut it asunder with his sword. For there was an ancient prophecy did promise to him, that could untie it, the lordship of all Asia; whereupon Alexander, not respecting the manner how, so it were done, assumed to himself the fulfilling the prophecy by hewing it in pieces.

But before he turned from this part of Asia the Less towards the east, he took care to clear the sea-coast on his back, and to thrust the Persians out of the islands of Lesbos, Scio, and Coos, the charge whereof he committed unto two of his captains, giving them such order as he thought to be most convenient for that service, and delivering unto them fifty talents to defray the charge; and withal, out of his first spoil gotten, he sent threescore talents more to Antipater his lieutenant in Greece and Macedon. From Celenas he removed to Ancyra, now called Anguori, standing on the same river of Sangarius which runneth through Gordium; there he mustered his army, and then entered Paphlagonia, whose people submitted themselves unto him, and obtained freedom of tribute; where he left Catus governor, with one regiment of Macedonians lately arrived.

Here he understood of the death of Memnon, Darius's lieutenant, which heartened him greatly to pass on towards him; for of this only captain he had more respect than of all the multitude by Darius assembled, and of all the commanders he had besides. For so much hath the spirit of some one man excelled, as it hath undertaken and effected the alteration of the greatest states and commonweals, the erection of monarchies, the conquest of kingdoms and empires, guided handfuls of men against multitudes of equal bodily strength, contrived victories beyond all hope and discourse of reason, converted the fearful passions of his

own followers into magnanimity, and the valour of his enemies into cowardice; such spirits have been stirred up in sundry ages of the world, and in divers parts thereof, to erect and cast down again, to establish and to destroy, and to bring all things, persons and states, to the same certain ends, which the infinite Spirit of the Universal, piercing, moving, and governing all things, hath ordained. Certainly the things that this king did were marvellous, and would hardly have been undertaken by any man else; and though his father had determined to have invaded the Lesser Asia, it is like enough that he would have contented himself with some part thereof, and not have discovered the river of Indus, as this man did. The swift course of victory, wherewith he ran over so large a portion of the world in so short a space, may justly be imputed unto this, that he was never encountered by an equal spirit, concurring with equal power against him. Hereby it came to pass that his actions, being limited by no greater opposition than desert places and the mere length of tedious journeys could make, were like the Colossus of Rhodes, not so much to be admired for the workmanship, though therein also praiseworthy, as for the huge bulk. For certainly the things performed by Xenophon discover as brave a spirit as Alexander's, and working no less exquisitely, though the effects were less material, as were also the forces and power of command by which it wrought. But he that would find the exact pattern of a noble commander must look upon such as Epaminondas, that encountering worthy captains, and those better followed than themselves, have by their singular virtue overtopped their valiant enemies, and still prevailed over those that would not have yielded one foot to any other: such as these are do seldom live to obtain great empires. For it is a work of more labour and longer time, to master the equal forces of one hardy and well-ordered state, than to tread down and utterly subdue a multitude of servile nations, compounding the body of a gross unwieldy empire. Wherefore these *parvo potentes*, men that with little have done much upon enemies of like ability, are

to be regarded as choice examples of worth; but great conquerors, to be rather admired for the substance of their actions, than the exquisite managing; exactness and greatness concurring so seldom, that I can find no instance of both in one, save only that brave Roman Cæsar.

Having thus far digressed, it is now time that we return unto our eastern conqueror, who is travelling hastily towards Cilicia, with a desire to recover the straits thereof before Darius should arrive there. But first making a despatch into Greece, he sent to those cities in which he reposed most trust some of the Persian targets which he had recovered in his first battle; upon which, by certain inscriptions, he made them partakers of his victory. Herein he well advised himself; for he that doth not as well impart of the honour which he gaineth in the wars, as he doth of the spoils, shall never be long followed by those of the better sort. For men which are either well born or well bred, and have more of wealth than of reputation, do as often satisfy themselves with the purchase of glory, as the weak in fortune and strong in courage do with the gain of gold and silver.

The governor of Cilicia hearing of Alexander coming on, left some companies to keep the straits, which were indeed very defensible; and withal, as Curtius noteth, he began overlate to prize and put in execution the counsel of Memnon; who in the beginning of the wars advised him to waste all the provisions for men and horse that could not be lodged in strong places, and always to give ground to the invader, till he found some such notable advantage as might assuredly promise him the obtaining of victory. For the fury of an invading army is best broken by delays, change of diet, and want, eating sometimes too little, and sometimes too much; sometimes reposing themselves in beds, and more oftener on the cold ground. These and the like sudden alterations bring many diseases upon all nations out of their own countries. Therefore, if Darius had kept the Macedonians but a while from meat and sleep, and refusing to give or take battle had wearied them

with his light horse, as the Parthians afterward did the Romans, he might perchance have saved his own life and his estate; for it was one of the greatest encouragements given by Alexander to the Macedonians, in the third and last fatal battle, that they were to fight with all the strength of Persia at once.

Xerxes, when he invaded Greece, and fought abroad, in being beaten lost only his men; but Darius, being invaded by the Greeks, and fighting at home, by being beaten lost his kingdom; Pericles, though the Lacedæmonians burnt all in Attica to the gates of Athens, yet could not be drawn to hazard a battle, for the invaded ought evermore to fight upon the advantage of time and place. Because we read histories to inform our understanding by the examples therein found, we will give some instances of those that have perished by adventuring in their own countries to charge an invading army. The Romans, by fighting with Hannibal, were brought to the brink of their destruction.

Pompey was well advised for a while, when he gave Cæsar ground; but when by the importunity of his captains he adventured to fight at Pharsalia, he lost the battle, lost the freedom of Rome, and his own life.

Ferdinand, in the conquest of Naples, would needs fight a battle with the French to his confusion, though it was told him by a man of sound judgment, that those counsels which promise surety in all things are honourable enough.

The constable of France made frustrate the mighty preparations of Charles the Fifth, when he invaded Provence, by wasting the country, and forbearing to fight; so did the duke of Alva weary the French in Naples, and dissolve the boisterous army of the prince of Orange in the Low Countries.

The Liegers, contrary to the advice of their general, would needs fight a battle with the Bourgonians, invading their country, and could not be persuaded to linger the time, and stay their advantage; but they lost eight and twenty thousand upon the place. Philip of Valois set upon king Edward at Cressy, and king John (when the English were

well near tired out, and would in short time by an orderly pursuit have been wasted to nothing) constrained the Black Prince with great fury, near Poictiers, to join battle with him; but all men know what lamentable success these two French kings found. Charles the Fifth of France made another kind of Fabian warfare; and though the English burnt and wasted many places, yet this king held his resolution to forbear blows, and followed his advice which told him, that the English could never get his inheritance by smoke; and it is reported by Bellay and Herrault, that king Edward was wont to say of this Charles, that he won from him the duchy of Guien without ever putting on his armour.

But where God hath a purpose to destroy, wise men grow short lived, and the charge of things is committed unto such as either cannot see what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any sound advice. The course which Memnon had propounded must in all appearance of reason have brought the Macedonian to a great perplexity, and made him stand still a while at the straits of Cilicia, doubting whether it were more shameful to return, or dangerous to proceed. For had Cappadocia and Paphlagonia been wasted whilst Alexander was far off, and the straits of Cilicia been defended by Arsenes, governor of that province, with the best of his forces, hunger would not have suffered the enemy to stay the trial of all means that might be thought upon of forcing that passage; or if the place could not have been maintained, yet might Cilicia at better leisure have been so throughly spoiled, that the heart of his army should have been broken, by seeking out miseries with painful travail.

But Arsenes leaving a small number to defend the straits, took the best of his army with him, to waste and spoil the country; or rather, as may seem, to find himself some work, by pretence of which he might honestly run further away from Alexander. He should rather have adventured his person in custody of the straits, whereby he might perhaps have saved the province; and in the mean time, all that

was in the fields would have been conveyed into strong towns. So should his army, if it were driven from the place of advantage, have found good entertainment within walled cities, and himself with his horsemen have had the less work in destroying that little which was left abroad. Handling the matter as he did, he gave the Cilicians cause to wish for Alexander's coming, and as great cause to the keepers of the passage not to hinder it: for cowards are wise in apprehending all forms of danger. These guardians of the straits, hearing that Arsenes made all haste to join himself with Darius, burning down all as he went, like one despairing of the defence, began to grow circumspect, and to think that surely their general, who gave as lost the country behind their backs, had exposed themselves unto certain death, as men that were good for nothing else but to dull the Macedonian swords. Wherefore, not affecting to die for their prince and country, (which honour they saw that Arsenes himself could well forbear,) they speedily followed the footsteps of their general, gleaning after his harvest. Thus Alexander without labour got both the entrance of Cilicia, abandoned by the cowardice of his enemies, and the whole province that had been alienated from the Persian side by their indiscretion.

SECT. IV.

Of the unwarlike army levied by Darius against Alexander. The unadvised courses which Darius took in this expedition. He is vanquished at Issus, where his mother, wife, and children are made prisoners. Of some things following the battle of Issus.

IN the mean season Darius approached, who (as Curtius reports) had compounded an army of more than two hundred and ninety thousand soldiers out of divers nations; Justin musters them at three hundred thousand foot, and a hundred thousand horse; Plutarch at six hundred thousand.

The manner of his coming on, as Curtius describes it, was rather like a masker than a man of war, and like one that took more care to set out his glory and riches, than to

provide for his own safety, persuading himself, as it seemed, to beat Alexander with pomp and sumptuous pageants. For before the army there was carried the holy fire which the Persians worshipped, attended by their priests, and after them three hundred and threescore and five young men, answering the number of the days of the year, covered with scarlet; then the chariot of Jupiter drawn with white horses, with their riders clothed in the same colour, with rods of gold in their hands; and after it, the horse of the sun. Next after these followed ten sumptuous chariots, inlaid and garnished with silver and gold, and then the vanguard of their horse, compounded of twelve several nations, which the better to avoid confusion did hardly understand each other's language, and these marshalled in the head of the rest, being beaten, might serve very fitly to disorder all that followed them; in the tail of these horses the regiment of foot marched, with the Persians called *immortal*, because if any died the number was presently supplied; and these were armed with chains of gold, and their coats with the same metal embroidered, whereof the sleeves were garnished with pearl, baits either to catch the hungry Macedonians withal, or to persuade them that it were great incivility to cut and to deface such glorious garments. But it was well said, *Sumptuose inductus miles, se virtute superiorem aliis non existimet, cum in præliis oportet fortitudine animi, et non vestimentis se muniri, quoniam hostes vestibus non debellantur;* "Let no man think that he ex-"ceedeth those in valour whom he exceedeth in gay gar-"ments; for it is by men armed with fortitude of mind, and "not by the apparel they put on, that enemies are beaten." And it was perchance from the Roman Papyrius that this advice was borrowed, who when he fought against the Samnite in that fatal battle, wherein they all sware either to prevail or die, thirty thousand of them having apparelled themselves in white garments, with high crests and great plumes of feathers, bade the Roman soldiers to lay aside all fear: [u] *Non enim cristas vulnera facere, et per picta atque*

[u] Liv. l. 10.

aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum; "For these plumed "crests would wound nobody, and the Roman pile would "bore holes in painted and gilded shields."

To second this court-like company, fifteen thousand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like women, (belike to breed the more terror,) and these were honoured with the title of the king's kinsmen. Then came Darius himself, the gentlemen of his guardrobe, riding before his chariot, which was supported with the gods of his nation, cast and cut in pure gold; these the Macedonians did not serve, but they served their turns of these by changing their massy bodies into thin portable and current coin. The head of this chariot was set with precious stones, with two little golden idols, covered with an open-winged eagle of the same metal; the hinder part being raised high whereon Darius sat, had a covering of inestimable value; this chariot of the king was followed with ten thousand horsemen, their lances plated with silver, and their heads gilt; which they meant not to embrue in the Macedonian blood, for fear of marring their beauty. He had for the proper guard of his person two hundred of the blood royal, blood too royal and precious to be spilt by any valorous adventure, (I am of opinion that two hundred sturdy fellows, like the Switzers, would have done him more service,) and these were backed with thirty thousand footmen, after whom again were led four hundred spare horses for the king, which if he had meant to have used he would have marshalled somewhat nearer him.

Now followed the rearward, the same being led by Sisygambis the king's mother, and by his wife, drawn in glorious chariots, followed by a great train of ladies their attendants on horseback, with fifteen waggons of the king's children and the wives of the nobility, waited on by two hundred and fifty concubines, and a world of nurses and eunuchs, most sumptuously apparelled; by which it should seem that Darius thought that the Macedonians had been comedians or tumblers; for this troop was far fitter to be-

hold those sports than to be present at battles. Between these and a company of slight-armed slaves, with a world of valets, was the king's treasure, charged on six hundred mules, and three hundred camels, brought, as it proved, to pay the Macedonians. In this sort came this May-game king into the field, encumbered with a most unnecessary train of strumpets, attended with troops of divers nations, speaking divers languages, and for their numbers impossible to be marshalled, and for the most part so effeminate and so rich in gold and in garments, as the same could not but have encouraged the nakedest nation of the world against them. We find it in daily experience that all discourse of magnanimity, of national virtue, of religion, of liberty, and whatsoever else hath been wont to move and encourage virtuous men, hath no force at all with the common soldier in comparison of spoil and riches; the rich ships are boarded upon all disadvantages, the rich towns are furiously assaulted, and the plentiful countries willingly invaded. Our English nations have attempted many places in the Indies, and run upon the Spaniards headlong, in hope of their royals of plate and pistolets, which had they been put to it upon the like disadvantages in Ireland, or in any poor country, they would have turned their pieces and pikes against their commanders, contesting that they had been brought without reason to the butchery and slaughter. It is true that the war is made willingly, and for the most part with good success, that is ordained against the richest nations; for as the needy are always adventurous, so plenty is wont to shun peril, and men that have well to live, do rather study how to live well, I mean wealthily, than care to die (as they call it) honourably. *Car où il n'y à rien à gagner que des coups, volontiers il n'y va pas;* "No man "makes haste to the market, where there is nothing to be "bought but blows."

Now if Alexander had beheld this preparation before his consultation with his soothsayers, he would have satisfied himself by the outsides of the Persians, and never have looked into the entrails of beasts for success. For leaving

the description of this second battle, (which is indeed nowhere well described, neither for the confusion and hasty running away of the Asians could it be,) we have enough, by the slaughter that was made of them, and by the few that fell of the Macedonians, to inform us what manner of resistance was made. For if it be true that threescore thousand Persian footmen were slain in this battle, with ten thousand of their horsemen; or (as Curtius saith) an hundred thousand footmen, with the same number of horsemen, and besides this slaughter forty thousand taken prisoners, while of Alexander's army there miscarried but two hundred and fourscore of all sorts, of which numbers Arianus and other historians cut off almost the one half; I do verily believe that this small number rather died with the over-travail and pains-taking in killing their enemies, than by any strokes received from them. And surely if the Persian nation (at this time degenerate, and the basest of the world) had had any savour remaining of the ancient valour of their forefathers, they would never have sold so good cheap, and at so vile a price, the mother, the wife, the daughters, and other the king's children, had their own honour been valued by them at nothing, and the king's safety and his estate at less. Darius by this time found it true that Charidemus, a banished Grecian of Athens, had told him, when he made a view of his army about Babylon, to wit, that the multitude which he had assembled of divers nations, richly attired, but poorly armed, would be found more terrible to the inhabitants of the country, whom in passing by they would devour, than to the Macedonians, whom they meant to assail; who being all old and obedient soldiers, embattled in gross squadrons, which they call their *phalanx*, well covered with armour for defence, and furnished with weapons for offence of great advantage, would make so little account of his delicate Persians, loving their ease and their palate, being withal ill-armed and worse disciplined, as except it would please him to entertain (having so great abundance of treasure to do it withal) a sufficient number of the same Grecians, and so to encounter the Ma-

cedonians with men of equal courage, he would repent him overlate, as taught by the miserable success like to follow.

But this discourse was so unpleasing to Darius, (who had been accustomed to nothing so much as to his own praises, and to nothing so little as to hear truth,) as he commanded that this poor Grecian should be presently slain; who while he was a sundering in the tormentor's hand, used this speech to the king, That Alexander, against whom he had given this good counsel, should assuredly revenge his death, and lay deserved punishment upon Darius for despising his advice.

It was the saying of a wise man: *Desperata ejus principis salus est, cujus aures ita formatæ sunt, ut aspera quæ utilia, nec quicquam nisi jucundum accipiat;* "That "prince's safety is in a desperate case, whose ears judge all "that is profitable to be too sharp, and will entertain no-"thing that is unpleasant."

"For liberty in counsel is the life and essence of coun-"sel;" *Libertas consilii est ejus vita et essentia, qua erepta consilium evanescit.*

Darius did likewise value at nothing the advice given him by the Grecian soldiers that served him, who entreated him not to fight in the straits; but had they been counsellors and directors in that war, as they were underlings and commanded by others, they had with the help of a good troop of horsemen been able to have opposed the fury of Alexander, without any assistance of the Persian footmen. For when Darius was overthrown with all his cowardly and confused rabble, those Grecians, under their captain Amyntas, held firm, and marched away in order, in despite of the vanquishers. Old soldiers are not easily dismayed; we read in histories ancient and modern, what brave retreats have been made by them, though the rest of the army in which they have served hath been broken.

At the battle of Ravenna, where the imperials were beaten by the French, a squadron of Spaniards, old soldiers, came off unbroken and undismayed, whom when Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, and nephew to Lewis the Twelfth,

charged, as holding the victory not entire by their escape, he was overturned and slain in the place. For it is truly said of those men who by being acquainted with dangers fear them not, that, *neglecto periculo imminentis mali opus ipsum quantumvis difficile aggrediuntur*; "they go about "the business itself, how hard soever it be, not standing to "consider of the danger which the mischief hanging over "their heads may bring;" and as truly of those that know the wars but by hearsay, *quod valentes sunt et prævalentes ante pericula, in ipsis tamen periculis discedunt*; "they have ability enough, and to spare, till dangers ap-"pear; but when peril indeed comes, they get them gone."

These Grecians also, that made the retract, advised Darius to retire his army into the plain of Mesopotamia, to the end that Alexander being entered into those large fields and great champaigns, he might have environed the Macedonians on all sides with his multitude; and withal they counselled him to divide that his huge army into parts, not committing the whole to one stroke of fortune, whereby he might have fought many battles, and have brought no greater numbers at once than might have been well marshalled and conducted. But this counsel was so contrary to the cowardly affections of the Persians, as they persuaded Darius to environ the Grecians which gave the advice, and to cut them in pieces as traitors. The infinite wisdom of God doth not work always by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of kingdoms and estates, by taking understanding from the governors, so as they can neither give nor discern of counsels. For Darius, that would needs fight with Alexander upon a straitened piece of ground near unto the city of Issus, where he could bring no more hands to fight than Alexander could, (who by the advice of Parmenio stayed there, as in a place of best advantage,) was utterly overthrown, his treasure lost, his wife, mother, and children (whom the Grecians his followers had persuaded him to leave in Babylon or elsewhere) taken prisoners, and all their train of ladies spoiled of their rich garments, jewels, and honour. It is true, that both

the queen, with her daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to Alexander's presence, were entertained with all respect due unto their birth, their honours preserved, and their jewels and rich garments restored unto them; and though Darius's wife was a most beautiful lady, and his daughters of excellent form, yet Alexander mastered his affections towards them all; only it is reported out of Aristobolus the historian, that he embraced the wife of the valiant Memnon, her husband lately dead, who was taken flying from Damascus by Parmenio, at which time the daughters of Ochus, who reigned before Darius, and the wives and children of all the nobility of Persia in effect fell into captivity; at which time also Darius's treasure (not lost at Issus) was seized, amounting to six thousand and two hundred talents of coin, and of bullion five hundred talents, with a world of riches besides.

Darius himself, leaving his brother dead, with divers other of his chief captains, (casting the crown from his head,) hardly escaped.

After this overthrow given unto Darius all Phœnicia (the city of Tyre excepted) was yielded to Alexander, of which Parmenio was made governor.

Aradus, Zidon, and Biblos, maritimate cities of great importance, of which one Strato was king, (but hated of the people,) acknowledged Alexander. Good fortune followed him so fast that it trod on his heels; for Antigonus, Alexander's lieutenant in Asia the Less, overthrew the Cappadocians, Paphlagonians, and others lately revolted; Aristodemus, Darius's admiral, had his fleet partly taken and in part drowned by the Macedonians newly levied; the Lacedæmonians that warred against Antipater were beaten, four thousand of those Greeks which made the retreat at the last battle, forsaking both the party of Darius and of Alexander, and led by Amyntas into Egypt, to hold it for themselves, were buried there; for the time was not yet come to divide kingdoms.

Alexander, to honour Hephæstion, whom he loved most, gave him power to dispose of the kingdom of Zidon. A

man of a most poor estate, that laboured to sustain his life, being of the royal blood, was commended by the people unto him, who changed his spade into a sceptre, so as he was beheld both a beggar and a king in one and the same hour.

It was a good desire of this new king, when, speaking to Alexander, he wished that he could bear his prosperity with the same moderation and quietness of heart that he had done his adversity; but ill done of Alexander, in that he would not perform in himself that which he commended in another man's desire; for it was a sign that he did but accompany, and could not govern his felicity.

While he made some stay in those parts, he received a letter from Darius, importing the ransom of his wife, his mother, and his children, with some other conditions of peace, but such as rather became a conqueror, than one that had now been twice shamefully beaten, not vouchsafing in his direction to style Alexander king. It is true that the Romans, after that they had received an overthrow by Pyrrhus, returned him a more scornful answer upon the offer of peace, than they did before the trial of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the spring, so that of Darius had already cast leaf, the one a resolved, well-armed and disciplined nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. Alexander disdained the offers of Darius, and sent him word, that he not only directed his letter to a king, but to the king of Darius himself.

SECT. V.

How Alexander besieged and won the city of Tyre.

ALEXANDER coming near to the city of Tyre, received from them the present of a golden crown, with great store of victuals and other presents, which he took very thankfully, returning them answer, that he desired to offer a sacrifice to Hercules, the protector of their city, from whom he was descended. But the Tyrians like not his company within their walls, but tell him that the temple of Hercules was seated in the old city adjoining, now aban-

doned and desolate. To be short, Alexander resolved to enter it by force; and though it were a place in all men's opinion impregnable, because the island whereon it was built was eight hundred furlongs from the main, yet with the labour of many hands, having great store of stone from the old Tyre, and timber sufficient from Libanus, he filled the passage of the sea between the island and the main, which being more than once carried away by the strength of the sea upon a storm of wind, sometime by the Tyrians fired, and sometime torn asunder, yet with the help of his navy, which arrived (during the siege) from Cyprus, he overcame all difficulties, and prevailed, after he had spent seven months in that attempt. The Tyrians in the beginning of the siege had barbarously drowned the messengers sent by Alexander, persuading them to render the city; in respect whereof, and of the great loss of time and men, he put eight thousand to the sword, and caused two thousand of those that escaped the first fury to be hanged on crosses on the sea-shore, and reserved for slaves, saith Diodore, thirteen thousand. [x] Arrianus reckons them at thirty thousand. Many more had died, had not the Zidonians, that served [y] Alexander, conveyed great numbers away by shipping unto their own city.

Happy it was for Apollo that the town was taken; for one of the Tyrians having dreamt that this god meant to forsake the city, they bound him fast with a golden chain to the idol of Hercules; but Alexander, like a gracious prince, loosened him again.

It is true, that it was a notable enterprise and a difficult; but great things are made greater. For Nabuchodonosor had taken it before, and filled up the channel that lay between the island and the main.

The government of this territory he gave to Philotas, the son of Parmenio; Cilicia he committed to Socrates, and Andromachus, lieutenant under Parmenio; Hephæstion had the charge of the fleet, and was directed to find Alexander at Gaza towards Egypt.

[x] Arrian. l. 2. [y] Just. l. 18.

SECT. VI.

How Darius offered conditions of peace to Alexander. Alexander wins Gaza, and deals graciously with the Jews.

IN the mean while Darius sends again to Alexander, sets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the east, and layeth the loss of the last battle to the straitness of the place; he hoped to terrify him, by threatening to encompass him in the plain countries; he bids him consider how impossible it was to pass the rivers of Euphrates, Tigris, Araxes, and the rest, with all such other fearful things; for he, that was now filled with nothing but fear, had arguments enough of that nature to present unto another. All the kingdoms between the river of Alys and the Hellespont he offered him in dower with his beloved daughter. But Alexander answered, that he offered him nothing but his own, and that which victory and his own virtue had possessed him of; that he was to give conditions, and not to receive any; and that he, having passed the sea itself, disdained to think of resistance in transporting himself over rivers. It is said that Parmenio, who was now old, and full of honour and riches, told the king, that were he Alexander, he would accept of Darius's offers; to which Alexander answered, that so would he, if he were Parmenio.

But he goes on towards Egypt, and coming before Gaza, Betis, a faithful servant to Darius, shuts the gate against him, and defends the town with an obstinate resolution, at the siege whereof Alexander received a wound in the shoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his leg with a stone: he found better men in this place than he did at the former battles; for he left so many of his Macedonians buried in the sands of Gaza, that he was forced to send for a new supply into Greece. Here it was that Alexander first began to change condition, and to exercise cruelty. For after that he had entered Gaza by assault, and taken Betis, (whom [z] Josephus calleth Babemeses,) that was weakened with many wounds, and who never gave ground to the assailants, he bored holes through his feet, and caused him

[z] Joseph. Ant. l. 11. c. 8.

to be drawn about the streets whilst he was yet alive, who being as valiant a man as himself, disdained to ask him either life or remission of his torments. And what had he to countenance this his tyranny, but the imitation of his ancestor Achilles, who did the like to Hector? It is true, that cruelty hath always somewhat to cover her deformity.

From Gaza, saith [a] Josephus, he led his army towards Jerusalem, a city, for the antiquity and great fame thereof, well known unto him while he lay before Tyre: he had sent for some supply thither, which Jaddus the high priest, being subject and sworn to Darius, had refused him. The Jews therefore fearing his revenge, and unable to resist, committed the care of their estates and safety to Jaddus, who, being taught by God, issued out of the city covered with his pontifical robes, to wit, an upper garment of purple, embroidered with gold, with his mitre, and the plate of gold wherein the name of God was written, the priests and Levites in their rich ornaments, and the people in white garments, in a manner so unusual, stately, and grave, as Alexander greatly admired it. Josephus reports it, that he fell to the ground before the high priest, as reverencing the name of God, and that Parmenio reprehended him for it; howsoever it was, I am of opinion that he became so confident in his enterprise, and so assured of the success, after the prophecy of Daniel had been read unto him, wherein he saw himself and the conquest of Persia so directly pointed at, as nothing thenceforth could discourage him or fear him. He confessed to Parmenio, saith Josephus, that in Dio, a city of Macedon, when his mind laboured the conquest of Asia, he saw in his sleep such a person as Jaddus, and so apparelled, professing one and the same God, by whom he was encouraged to pursue the purpose he had in hand with assurance of victory. This apparition, formerly apprehended only by the light of his fantasy, he now beheld with his bodily eyes, wherewith he was so exceedingly pleased and emboldened, as, contrary to the practice of the Phœnicians, (who hoped to have sacked and destroyed Je-

[a] Joseph. Ant. c. ult.

rusalem,) he gave the Jews all, and more than they desired, both of liberty and immunity, with permission to live under their own laws, and to exercise and enjoy their own religion.

SECT. VII.

Alexander wins Egypt, and makes a journey to the temple of Hammon.

FROM Jerusalem Alexander turned again towards Egypt, and entered it, where Darius's lieutenant Astaces received him, and delivered into his hand the city of Memphis, with eight hundred talents of treasure, and all other the king's riches. By this we see that the king of Persia, who had more of affection than of judgment, gave to the valiantest man he had but the command of one city, and to the veriest coward the government of all Egypt. When he had set things in order in Egypt, he began to travel after godhead, towards Jupiter Hammon, so foolish had prosperity made him. He was to pass over the dangerous and dry sands, where, when the water which he brought on his camels' backs was spent, he could not but have perished, had not a marvellous shower of rain fallen upon him, when his army was in extreme despair. All men that know Egypt, and have written thereof, affirm, that it never rains there; but the purposes of the Almighty God are secret, and he bringeth to pass what it pleaseth him; for it is also said, that when he had lost his way in those vast deserts, that a flight of crows flew before the army, who making faster wing when they were followed, and fluttering slowly when the army was cast back, guided them over those pathless sands to Jupiter's temple.

[b] Arrianus, from the report of Ptolomy the son of Lagus, says, that he was led by two dragons; both which reports may be alike true. But many of these wonders and things prodigious are feigned by those that have written the story of Alexander; as, that an eagle lay hovering directly over his head at the battle of Issus; that a swallow flew about his head when he slept, and could not be feared from him

[b] Arrian. l. 3.

till it had wakened him, at Halicarnassus, foreshewing the treason of Æropus, practised by Darius to have slain him; that from the iron bars of which the Tyrians made their defensive engines, when Alexander besieged them, there fell drops of blood; and that the like drops were found in a loaf of bread, broken by a Macedonian soldier, at the same time; that a turf of earth fell on his shoulder when he lay before Gaza, out of which there flew a bird into the air. The Spaniards in the conquest of the West Indies have many such pretty tales, telling how they have been assisted in battle by the presence of our Lady, and by angels riding on white horses, with the like Romish miracles, which I think themselves do hardly believe. The strangest thing that I have read of in this kind, being certainly true, was, that the night before the battle at Novara all the dogs which followed the French army ran from them to the Switzers, leaping and fawning upon them, as if they had been bred and fed by them all their lives, and in the morning following, Trivulzi and Tremoville, generals for Lewis the Twelfth, were by these imperial Switzers utterly broken and put to ruin.

The place of this idol of Jupiter Hammon is ill described by Curtius, for he bounds it by the Arabian Troglodytes on the south, between whom and the territory of Hammon, the region Thebais, or the superior Egypt, with the mountains of Libya and the river of Nilus, are interjacent, and on the north he joins it to a nation called Nassamones, who bordering the sea-shore, live, saith he, upon the spoils of shipwreck; whereas the temple or grove of this idol hath no sea near it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the south part of Libya; these [c] Nassamones being due west from it, in the south part of Marmarica.

When Alexander came near the place, he sent some of his parasites before him to practise the priests attending the oracle, that their answer might be given in all things agreeable to his mad ambition, who affected the title of Jupiter's son. And so he was saluted Son of Jupiter by the

[c] Ptol. Asiæ Tab. 3.

Devil's prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as some think) defective in the Greek tongue; for whereas he meant to say *O pai dion*, he said *O pai dios*, that is, " O son of Jupiter," instead of " O dear son;" for which grammatical error he was richly rewarded, and a rumour presently spread, that the great Jupiter had acknowledged Alexander for his own.

He had heard that Perseus and Hercules had formerly consulted with this oracle, the one when he was employed against Gorgon, the other against Anteus and Busiris; and seeing these men had derived themselves from the gods, why might not he? By this it seems that he hoped to make his followers and the world fools, though indeed he made himself one, by thinking to cover from the world's knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirm his followers in the belief of his deity, he had practised the priests to give answer to such as consulted with the oracle, that it should be pleasing to [d] Jupiter to honour Alexander as his son.

Who this Ammon was, and how represented, either by a boss carried in a boat, or by a ram, or a ram's head, I see that many wise men have troubled themselves to find out; but, as Arrianus speaks of Dionysius, or *Liber pater*, (who lived, saith St. Augustine, in Moses' time,) *Ea quæ de diis veteres fabulis suis conscripsere non sunt nimium curiose pervestiganda*; " We must not over-curiously search into " the fables which the ancients have written of their gods."

But this is certain and notable, that after the gospel began to be preached in the world, the Devil in this and in all other idols became speechless. For that this Hammon was neglected in the time of Tiberius Cæsar, and in the time of Trajan altogether forgotten, Strabo and Plutarch witness.

There is found near this temple a fountain called *fons solis*, (though Ptolomy in his third African table sets it further off,) that at midnight is as hot as boiling water, and at noon as cold as any ice; to which I cannot but give credit, because I have heard of some other wells of like nature,

[d] Curt. l. 4.

and because it is reported by St. Augustine, by Diodore, Herodotus, Pliny, Mela, Solinus, Arrianus, Curtius, and others; and indeed our baths in England are much warmer in the night than in the day.

SECT. VIII.

How Alexander, marching against Darius, was opposed very unskilfully by the enemy.

FROM the temple of Hammon he returned to Memphis, where among many other learned men he heard the philosopher Psammones, who, belike understanding that he affected the title of Jupiter's son, told him that God was the Father-king of all men in general; and refining the pride of this haughty king, brought him to say, that God was the Father of all mortal men, but that he acknowledged none for his children save good men.

He gave the charge of the several provinces of Egypt to several governors, following the rule of his master [e] Aristotle, that "a great dominion should not be continued in the hands "of any one:" whom therein the Roman emperors also followed, not daring to commit the government of Egypt to any of their senators, but to men of meaner rank and degree. He then gave order for the founding of Alexandria upon the westernmost branch of Nilus. And having now settled (as he could) the estate of Egypt, with the kingdoms of the Lesser Asia, Phœnicia, and Syria, (which being but the pawns of Darius's ill fortune, one happy victory would readily have redeemed,) he led his army towards Euphrates, which passage, though the same was committed to Mazæus to defend, yet was it abandoned, and Alexander without resistance passed it. From thence he passed towards Tigris, a river for the swiftness thereof called by the Persians *the Arrow*. Here, as [f] Curtius and reason itself tells us, might Darius easily have repelled the invading Macedonian; for the violent course of the stream was such, as it drave before it many weighty stones, and those that moved not, but lay in the bottom, were so round and well polished by con-

[e] Arist. Pol. l. 5. [f] Curt. l. 4.

tinual rolling, that no man was able to fight on so slippery a footing; nor the Macedonian footmen to wade the river, otherwise than by joining their hands and interlacing their arms together, making one weighty and entire body to resist the swift passage and furious race of the stream. Besides this notable help, the channel was so deep towards the eastern shore, where Darius should have made head, as the footmen were enforced to lift their bows and arrows and darts over their heads, to keep them from being moistened and made unserviceable by the waters. But it was truly and understandingly said of Homer,

Talis est hominum terrestrium mens,
Qualem quotidie ducit pater virorumque deorumque.

The minds of men are ever so affected,
As by God's will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all estates of the world by the surfeit of misgovernment have been subject to many grievous, and sometimes mortal diseases, so had the empire of Persia at this time brought itself into a burning and consuming fever, and thereby become frantic and without understanding, foreshewing manifestly the dissolution and death thereof.

But Alexander hath now recovered the eastern shores of Tigris, without any other difficulty than that of the nature of the place, where Mazæus (who had charge to defend the passage both of Euphrates and it) presented himself to the Macedonians, followed with certain companies of horsemen, as if with uneven forces he durst have charged them on even ground, when as with a multitude far exceeding them he forsook the advantage which no valour of his enemies could easily have overcome. But it is commonly seen, that fearful and cowardly men do ever follow those ways and counsels whereof the opportunity is already lost.

It is true, that he set all provisions a fire wherewith the Macedonians might serve themselves over Tigris, thinking thereby greatly to have distressed them; but the execution of good counsel is fruitless when unseasonable. For now was

Alexander so well furnished with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competency of the army which he conducted; those things also which he sought to waste, Alexander being now in sight, were by his horsemen saved and recovered. This, Mazæus might have done some days before, at good leisure; or at this time with so great a strength of horsemen, as the Macedonians durst not have pursued them, leaving the strength of their foot out of sight, and far behind.

SECT. IX.

The new provisions of Darius. Accidents foregoing the battle of Arbela.

DARIUS, upon Alexander's first return out of Egypt, had assembled all the forces which those regions next him could furnish, and now also were the Arians, Scythians, Indians, and other nations arrived; nations (saith Curtius) that rather served to make up the names of men than to make resistance. Arrianus hath numbered them with their leaders; and finds of footmen of all sorts ten hundred thousand, and of horse four hundred thousand, besides armed chariots, and some few elephants. Curtius, who musters the army of Darius at two hundred thousand foot, and near fifty thousand horse, comes, I think, nearer to the true number; and yet seeing he had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his vassals, it is like enough that he had gathered together of all sorts some three or four hundred thousand, with which he hoped in those fair plains of Assyria to have overborne the few numbers of the invading army. But it is a rule in the philosophy of the war, [s] *In omni prælio non tam multitudo, et virtus indocta, quam ars et exercitium solent præstare victoriam*; "In every battle skill and practice do more towards the "victory than multitude and rude audacity."

While Alexander gave rest to his army after their passage over Tigris, there happened an eclipse of the moon, of which the Macedonians not knowing the cause and reason

[s] Veget.

were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant (as the multitude always are) took it for a certain presage of their overthrow and destruction, insomuch as they began not only to murmur, but to speak it boldly, that for the ambition of one man, a man that disdained Philip for his father, and would needs be called the son of Jupiter, they should all perish; for he not only enforced them to make war against worlds of enemies, but against rivers, mountains, and the heavens themselves.

Hereupon Alexander, being ready to march forward, made a halt, and to quiet the minds of the multitude, he called before him the Egyptian astrologers, which followed him thence, that by them the soldiers might be assured that this defection of the moon was a certain presage of good success; for that it was natural they never imparted to the common people, but reserved the knowledge to themselves, so as a sorry almanac-maker had been no small fool in those days.

Of this kind of superstitious observation Cæsar made good use when he fought against Ariovistus and the Germans; for they being persuaded by the casting of lots that if they fought before the change of the moon they should certainly lose the battle, Cæsar forced them to abide it, though they durst not give it; wherein having their minds already beaten by their own superstition, and being resolutely charged by the Romans, the whole army in effect perished.

These Egyptians gave no other reason than this, that the Grecians were under the aspect of the sun, the Persians of the moon; and therefore the moon failing and being darkened, the state of Persia was now in danger of falling, and their glory of being obscured. This judgment of the Egyptian priests being noised through all the army, all were satisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the war, which, though devised since, was well observed then: *Exercitum terrore plenum dux ad pugnam non ducat;* "Let not a captain lead his army to the fight, "when it is possessed with matter of terror."

It is truly observed by Curtius, that the people are led by nothing so much as by superstition; yea, we find it in all stories, and often in our own, that by such inventions, devised tales, dreams, and prophecies, the people of this land have been carried headlong into many dangerous tumults and insurrections, and still to their own loss and ruin.

As Alexander drew near the Persian army, certain letters were surprised written by Darius to the Grecians, persuading them for great sums of money either to kill or betray Alexander. But these by the advice of Parmenio he suppressed.

At this time also Darius's fair wife, oppressed with sorrow, and wearied with travail, died. Which accident Alexander seemed no less to bewail than Darius, who upon the first bruit suspected that some dishonourable violence had been offered her; but being satisfied by an eunuch of his own, that attended her, of Alexander's kingly respect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he desired the immortal gods, that if they had decreed to make a new master of the Persian empire, then it would please them to confer it on so just and continent an enemy as Alexander, to whom he once again before the last trial by battle offered these conditions of peace:

That with his daughter in marriage he would deliver up and resign all Asia the Less, and with Egypt all those kingdoms between the Phœnician sea and the river of Euphrates; that he would pay him for the ransom of his mother and his other daughters thirty thousand talents, and that for the performance thereof he would leave his son Ochus in hostage. To this they sought to persuade Alexander by such arguments as they had. Alexander causing the ambassadors to be removed, advised with his counsel, but heard no man speak but Parmenio, the very right hand of his good fortune; who persuaded him to accept of these fair conditions. He told him, that the empire between Euphrates and Hellespont was a fair addition to Macedon; that the retaining of the Persian prisoners was a great cumber, and the treasure offered for them of far better use than

their persons; with divers other arguments: all which Alexander rejected. And yet it is probable, that if he had followed his advice, and bounded his ambition within those limits, he might have lived as famous for virtue as for fortune, and left himself a successor of able age to have enjoyed his estate, which afterward, indeed, he much enlarged, rather to the greatening of others than himself; who, to assure themselves of what they had usurped upon his issues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few years after. The truth is, that Alexander in going so far into the east left behind him the reputation which he brought out of Macedon; the reputation of a just and prudent prince, a prince temperate, advised, and grateful; and being taught new lessons by abundance of prosperity, became a lover of wine, of his own flattery, and of extreme cruelty. Yea, as Seneca hath observed, the taint of one unjust slaughter, amongst many, defaced and withered the flourishing beauty of all his great acts and glorious victories obtained. But the Persian ambassadors stay his answer, which was to this effect; That whatsoever he had bestowed on the wife and children of Darius proceeded from his own natural clemency and magnanimity, without all respect to their master; that thanks to an enemy was improper; that he made no wars against adversity, but against those that resisted him, not against women and children, but against armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of Darius to corrupt his soldiers, and by great sums of money to persuade his friends to attempt upon his person, he had reason to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant, yet he could not (were it otherwise, and faithful) resolve in haste to accept the same, seeing Darius had made the war against him, not as a king with royal and overt force, but as a traitor by secret and base practice; that for the territory offered him, it was already his own, and if Darius could beat him back again over Euphrates, which he had already passed, he would then believe that he offered him somewhat in his own power; otherwise he propounded to himself, for the reward of the

war which he had made, all those kingdoms as yet in Darius's possession, wherein, whether he were abused by his own hopes or no, the battle which he meant to fight in the day following should determine. For conclusion, he told them, that he came into Asia to give, and not to receive; that the heavens could not hold two suns; and therefore if Darius could be content to acknowledge Alexander for his superior, he might perchance be persuaded to give him conditions fit for a second person, and his inferior.

SECT. X.

The battle of Arbela; and that it could not be so strongly fought as report hath made it.

WITH this answer the ambassadors return; Darius prepares to fight, and sends Mazæus to defend a passage, which he never yet dared so much as to hazard. Alexander consults with his captains; Parmenio persuades him to force Darius's camp by night, so that the multitude of enemies might not move terror in the Macedonians, being but few. Alexander disdains to steal the victory, and resolves to bring with him the daylight to witness his valour; but it was the success that made good Alexander's resolution, though the counsel given by Parmenio was more sound; for it is a ground in war, *Si pauci necessario cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, consilium est noctis tempore belli fortunam tentare.* Notwithstanding, upon the view of the multitude at hand, he staggers and intrenches himself upon a ground of advantage, which the Persian had abandoned; and whereas Darius for fear of surprise had stood with his army in armour all the day, and forborne sleep all the night, Alexander gave his men rest and store of food; for reason had taught him this rule in the war: *In pugna milites validius resistunt, si cibo potuque refecti fuerint, nam fames intrinsecus magis pugnat, quam ferrum exterius;* "Soldiers do the better stand to it in fight, if they have "their bellies full of meat and drink; for hunger within "fights more eagerly than steel without."

The numbers which Alexander had, saith Arrianus, were

forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse; these belike were of the European army; for he had besides both Syrians, Indians, Egyptians, and Arabians, that followed him out of those regions. He used but a short speech to his soldiers to encourage them, and I think that he needed little rhetoric; for by the two former battles upon the river of Granick and in Cilicia, the Macedonians were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true saying, *Victoria victoriam parat, animumque victoribus auget, et adversariis aufert;* "One victory begets another, and puts courage into those that have already had the better, taking spirit away from such as have been beaten."

Arrianus and Curtius make large descriptions of this battle fought at Gaugamela: they tell us of many charges and recharges; that the victory inclined sometime to the Persians, sometime to the Macedonians; that Parmenio was in danger of being overthrown, who led the left wing; that Alexander's rear-guard was broken, and his carriages lost; that for the fierce and valorous encounters on both sides, fortune herself was long unresolved on whom to bestow the garland; and lastly, that Alexander in person wrought wonders, being charged in his retreat. But in conclusion, Curtius delivers us in account but three hundred dead Macedonians in all this terrible day's work; saying, that Hephæstion, Perdiccas, and others of name, were wounded. Arrianus finds not a third part of this number slain; of the Persians there fell forty thousand, saith Curtius, thirty thousand according to Arrianus; ninety thousand, if we believe Diodore. But what can we judge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former battles, the Persians upon the first charge ran away, and that the Macedonians pursued? For if of these four or five hundred thousand Asians brought into the field by Darius, every man had cast but a dart or a stone, the Macedonians could not have bought the empire of the east at so easy a rate as six or seven hundred men in three notorious battles. Certainly, if Darius had fought with Alexander upon the

banks of Euphrates, and had armed but fifty or threescore thousand of this great multitude only with spades, (for the most of all he had were fit for no other weapon,) it had been impossible for Alexander to have passed that river so easily, much less the river of Tigris. But as a man whose empire God in his providence had determined, he abandoned all places of advantage, and suffered Alexander to enter so far into the bowels of his kingdom, as all hope and possibility of escape by retreat being taken from the Macedonians, they had presented unto them the choice either of death or victory; to which election Darius could no way constrain his own, seeing they had many large regions to run into from those that invaded them.

SECT. XI.

Of things following the battle of Arbela. The yielding of Babylon and Susa.

DARIUS after the route of his army recovered Arbela the same night, better followed in his flight than in the fight. He propounded unto them that ran after him his purpose of making a retreat into Media, persuading them that the Macedonians, greedy of spoil and riches, would rather attempt Babylon, Susa, and other cities, filled with treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his nobility rather obeyed than approved.

Alexander, soon after Darius's departure, arrives at Arbela, which with a great mass of treasure and princely ornaments was rendered unto him; for the fear which conducted Darius took nothing with it but shame and dishonour. He that had been twice beaten should rather have sent his treasure into Media, than brought it to Arbela, so near the place where he abid the coming of his enemies; if he had been victorious, he might have brought it after him at leisure, but being overcome, he knew it unpossible to drive mules and camels laden with gold from the pursuing enemy, seeing himself, at the overthrow he had in Cilicia, cast the crown from his head to run away with the more speed. But errors are then best discerned when most incurable:

Et præterita magis reprehendi possunt quam corrigi; "It is easier to reprehend than amend what is past."

From Arbela Alexander took his way towards Babylon, where Mazæus, in whom Darius had most confidence, rendered himself, his children, and the city. Also the captain of the castle, who was keeper of the treasure, strewed the streets with flowers, burnt frankincense upon altars of silver as Alexander passed by, and delivered unto him whatsoever was committed to his trust. The magi (the Chaldean astrologers) followed this captain in great solemnity to entertain their new king; after these came the Babylonian horsemen, infinitely rich in attire, but exceeding poor in warlike furniture. Between these (though not greatly to be feared) and himself, Alexander caused his Macedonian footmen to march. When he entered the castle he admired the glory thereof, and the abundance of treasure therein found, amounting to fifty thousand talents of silver uncoined. The city itself I have elsewhere described, with the walls, the towers, the gates, and the circuit, with the wonderful place of pleasure about two miles in circuit, surrounded with a wall of fourscore foot high, and on the top thereof (being underborne with pillars) a grove of beautiful and fruitful trees, which it is said that one of the kings of Babylon caused to be built, that the queen and other princesses might walk privately therein [h]. In this city, rich in all things, but most of all in voluptuous pleasures, the king rested himself and the whole army four and thirty days, consuming that time in banqueting and in all sorts of effeminate exercise, which so much softened the minds of the Macedonians, not acquainted till now with the like delicacies, as the severe discipline of war, which taught them the sufferances of hunger and thirst, of painful travail, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten than neglected.

Here it was that those bands of a thousand soldiers were erected, and commanders appointed over them, who thereupon were styled *chiliarchi*. This new order Alexander

[h] An. b. Alex.

brought in, was to honour those captains which were found by certain selected judges to have deserved best in the late war. For before this time the Macedonian companies consisted but of five hundred. Certainly the drawing down of the foot-bands in this latter age hath been the cause, saith the marshal Monluct, that the title and charge of a captain hath been bestowed on every *pique bœuf*, or spurncow; for when the captains of foot had a thousand soldiers under one ensign, and after that five hundred, as in the time of Francis the First, the title was honourable, and the kings were less charged and far better served. King Henry the Eighth of England never gave the commandment of any of his good ships but to men of known valour and of great estate, nay sometime he made two gentlemen of quality commanders in one ship: but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

While Alexander was yet in Babylon, there came to him a great supply out of Europe; for Antipater sent him six thousand foot and five hundred horse out of Macedon, of Thracians three thousand foot and the like number of horse, and out of Greece four thousand foot and four hundred horse, by which his army was greatly strengthened: for those that were infected with the pleasures of Babylon could hardly be brought again, *de quitter la plume pur dormir sur la dure*, " to change from soft beds to hard boards."

He left the castle and city of Babylon with the territories about it in charge unto three of his own captains, delivering withal into their hands, to supply all wants, a thousand talents; but to grace Mazæus, who rendered the city unto him, he gave him the title of his lieutenant over all, and took with him Bagistines, that gave up the castle, and having distributed to every soldier a part of the treasure, he left Babylon, and entered into the province Satrapene: from thence he went on towards Susa in Persia, the same which Ptolomy, Herodotus, and Elianus call Memnonia, situate on the river Euleus, a city sometime governed by Daniel the prophet. Abulites also, governor of this famous city, gave it up to the conqueror with fifty thousand talents

of silver in bullion, and twelve elephants for the war, with all other the treasures of [i] Darius. In this sort did those vassals of fortune, lovers of the king's prosperity, not of his person, (for so all ambitious men are,) purchase their own peace and safety with the king's treasures.

While Alexander spoiled Arbela, Mazæus might have furnished his own king from Babylon; and while he stayed four and thirty days at Babylon, Abulites might have holpen him from Susa; and while he feasted there, Tiridates from Persepolis might have relieved him; for the great mass of treasure was laid up in that city. But who hath sought out and friended fearful adversity? It is certain, that benefits bind not the ambitious, but the honest; for those that are but greedy of themselves, do in all changes of fortune only study the conservation of their own greatness.

And therefore was Alexander well advised, that whatsoever titles he gave to the Persians, yet he left all places of importance in trust with his own captains, to wit, Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis, with other cities and provinces by him conquered; for if Darius (as yet living) had beaten the Macedonians but in one battle, all the nobility of Persia would have returned to their natural lord. Those that are traitors to their own kings are never to be used alone in great enterprises by those princes that entertain them, nor ever to be trusted with the defences of any frontier town, or fortress of weight, by the rendering whereof they may redeem their liberty and estates lost.

Hereof the French had experience, when Don Petro de Navarra, being banished out of Spain, was trusted with Fontarabe, in the year 1523.

It is said that Charles the Fifth having promised Charles of Bourbon the government of Marseilles, if he could have forced it, and whereof he made sure account, told some of his nearest counsellors, that he meant nothing less than the performance of that promise, because he should thereby

[i] Diodore speaketh of more than forty thousand talents in bullion, and of nine millions of coined gold. *Sub dorica forma excusi.*

have left the duke (revolted from his master) very well wherewithal to have recovered his favour.

The government of Susa, with the castle and treasure, Alexander committed to his own Macedonians, making Abulites, who rendered it unto him, his lieutenant, as he had done Mazæus and others, in giving them titles, but neither trust nor power; for he left three thousand old soldiers in garrison to assure the place, and Darius's mother and her children to repose themselves.

SECT. XII.

How Alexander came to Persepolis, and burnt it.

FROM Susa Alexander leadeth his army toward Persepolis, and when he sought to pass those mountains which sunder Susiana and Persia, he was soundly beaten by Ariobarzanes, who defended against him those straits called Pylæ Persidis, or Susœidæ; and after the loss of many companies of his Macedonians, he was forced to save himself by retreat, causing his foot to march close together, and to cover themselves with their targets from the stones tumbled on them from the mountain top. Yet in the end he found out another path, which a Lycian living in that country discovered unto him, and came thereby suddenly in view of Ariobarzanes, who being enforced to fight upon even ground, was by Alexander broken, whereupon he fled to Persepolis, but (after that they of Persepolis had refused to receive him) he returned and gave a second charge upon the Macedonians, wherein he was slain. In like manner did king Francis the First, in the year 1515, find a way over the Alps, the Switzers undertaking to defend all the passages, who, if their footmanship had not saved them upon the king's descent on the other side, they had been ill paid for their hard lodging on those hills.

Four thousand Greeks, saith Curtius, (Justin numbers them but at eight hundred,) having been taken prisoners by the Persians, presented themselves to Alexander now in sight of Persepolis. These had the barbarous Persians so maimed and defaced, by cutting off their hands, noses, ears,

and other members, as they could no way have been known to their countrymen, but by their voices; to each of these Alexander gave three hundred crowns, with new garments, and such lands as they liked to live upon.

Tiridates, one of Darius's falsehearted grandees, hearing of Alexander's approach, made him know that Persepolis was ready to receive him, and prayed him to double his pace, because there was a determination in the people to spoil the king's treasure. This city was abandoned by many of her inhabitants upon Alexander's arrival, and they that stayed followed the worst counsel; for all was left to the liberty of the soldiers, to spoil and kill at their pleasure. There was no place in the world at that time, which, if it had been laid in balance with Persepolis, would have weighed it down. Babylon indeed and Susa were very rich, but in Persepolis lay the bulk and main store of the Persians. For after the spoil that had been made of money, curious plate, bullion, images of gold and silver, and other jewels, there remained to Alexander himself one hundred and twenty thousand talents. He left the same number of three thousand Macedonians in Persepolis which he had done in Susa, and gave the same formal honour to the traitor Tiridates, that he had done to Abulites; but he that had the trust of the place was Nicarides, a creature of his own. The body of his army he left here for thirty days, of which the commanders were Parmenio and Craterus, and with a thousand horse and certain troops of chosen foot, he would needs view in the winter-time those parts of Persia which the snow had covered, a fruitless and foolish enterprise; but as Seneca says, *Non ille ire vult, sed non potest stare;* "He hath not a will to go, but he is unable "to stand still." It is said and spoken in his praise, that when his soldiers cried out against him, because they could not endure the extreme frost, and make way but with extreme difficulty through the snow, that Alexander forsook his horse, and led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremity, thereby

to shew how well himself can endure it? His walking on foot did no otherwise take off their weariness that followed him, than his sometime forbearing to drink did quench their thirst that could less endure it. For mine own little judgment, I shall rather commend that captain that makes careful provision for those that follow him, and that seeks wisely to prevent extreme necessity, than those witless arrogant fools, that make the vaunt of having endured equally with the common soldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and importance.

We find in all the wars that Cæsar made, or the best of the Roman commanders, that the provision of victuals was their first care. For it was a true saying of Coligni, admiral of France, "that whoso will shape that beast" (meaning war) "must begin with his belly."

But Alexander is now returned to Persepolis, where those historians that were most amorous of his virtues, complain, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberality, of his clemency towards the vanquished, and all other his kingly conditions, were drowned in drink; [k] that he smothered in carousing cups all the reputation of his actions past, and that by descending, as it were, from the reverend throne of the greatest king into the company and familiarity of base harlots, he began to be despised both of his own and all other nations. For being persuaded, when he was inflamed with wine, by the infamous strumpet Thais, he caused the most sumptuous and goodly castle and city of Persepolis to be consumed with fire, notwithstanding all the arguments of Parmenio to the contrary, who told him that it was a dishonour to destroy those things by the persuasions of others, which by his proper virtue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong persuasion to the Asians to think hardly of him, and thereby alien their hearts: for they might well believe that he which demolished the goodliest ornaments they had, meant nothing less than (after such vastation) to hold their possession:

[k] Curt. l. 5.

[1] *Fere vinolentiam crudelitas sequitur;* "Cruelty doth com-
"monly follow drunkenness:" for so it fell out soon after, and often in Alexander.

SECT. XIII.

The treason of Bessus against Darius. Darius's death.

ABOUT this time he received a new supply of soldiers out of Cilicia, and goes on to find Darius in Media. Darius had there compounded his fourth and last army, which he meant to have increased in Bactria, had he not heard of Alexander's coming on, with whom (trusting to such companies as he had, which was numbered at thirty or forty thousand) he determined once again to try his fortune. He therefore calls together his captains and commanders, and propounds unto them his resolution, who being desperate of good success used silence for a while. Artabazus, one of his eldest men of war, who had sometime lived with Philip of Macedon, brake the ice, and protesting that he could never be beaten by any adversity of the king's, from the faith which he had ever owed him, with firm confidence that all the rest were of the same disposition, (whereof they likewise assured Darius by the like protestation,) he approved the king's resolution. Two only, and those the greatest, to wit, Naburzanes and Bessus, whereof the latter was governor of Bactria, had conspired against their master, and therefore advised the king to lay a new foundation for the war, and to pursue it by some such person for the present, against whom neither the gods nor fortune had in all things declared themselves to be an enemy: this preamble Naburzanes used, and in conclusion advised the election of his fellow traitor Bessus, with promise that, the wars ended, the empire should again be restored to Darius. The king swollen with disdain pressed towards Naburzanes to have slain him, but Bessus and the Bactrians whom he commanded being more in number than the rest, withheld him. In the mean while Naburzanes withdrew himself, and Bessus followed him, making their quarter apart from the

[1] Sen. Epist. 84.

rest of the army. Artabazus, the king's faithful servant, persuaded him to be advised, and serve the time, seeing Alexander was at hand, and that he would at least make show of forgetting the offence made, which the king, being of a gentle disposition, willingly yielded unto. Bessus makes his submission, and attends the king, who removes his army. Patron, who commanded a regiment of four thousand Greeks, which had in all the former battles served Darius with great fidelity, and always made the retreat in spite of the Macedonians, offered himself to guard his person, protesting against the treason of Bessus; but it was not in his destiny to follow their advice who from the beginning of the war gave him faithful counsel, but he inclined still to Bessus, who told him, that the Greeks with Patron their captain were corrupted by Alexander, and practised the division of his faithful servants. Bessus had drawn unto him thirty thousand of the army, promising them all those things by which the lovers of the world and themselves are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, safety, and honour.

Now the day following Darius plainly discovered the purposes of Bessus, and being overcome with passion, as thinking himself unable to make head against these ungrateful and unnatural traitors, he prayed Artabazus his faithful servant to depart from him, and to provide for himself. In like sort he discharged the rest of his attendants, all save a few of his eunuchs; for his guards had voluntarily abandoned him; his Persians being most base cowards, durst not undertake his defence against the Bactrians, notwithstanding that they had four thousand Greeks to join with them, who had been able to have beaten both nations. But it is true, that him which forsakes himself no man follows. It had been far more manlike and kinglike, to have died in the head of those four thousand Greeks, which offered him the disposition of their lives, (to which Artabazus persuaded him,) than to have lain bewailing himself on the ground, and suffering himself to be bound like a slave by those ambitious monsters that laid hand on him,

whom neither the consideration of his former great estate, nor the honours he had given them, nor the trust reposed in them, nor the world of benefits bestowed on them, could move to pity; no, nor his present adversity, which above all things should have moved them, could pierce their viperous and ungrateful hearts. Vain it was indeed to hope it, for infidelity hath no compassion.

Now Darius, thus forsaken, was bound and laid in a cart, covered with hides of beasts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be discovered; and to add despite and derision to his adversity, they fastened him with chains of gold, and so drew him on among their ordinary carriages and carts. For Bessus and Nabarzanes persuaded themselves to redeem their lives and the provinces they held, either by delivering him a prisoner to Alexander, or if that hope failed, to make themselves kings by his slaughter, and then to defend themselves by force of arms. But they failed in both: for it was against the nature of God, who is most just, to pardon so strange villainy, yea though against a prince purely heathenish and an idolater.

Alexander having knowledge that Darius was retired towards Bactria, and durst not abide his coming, hasted after him with a violent speed; and because he would not force his footmen beyond their powers, he mounted on horseback certain selected companies of them, and best armed, and with six thousand other horse, rather ran than marched after Darius. Such as hated the treason of Bessus, and secretly forsook him, gave knowledge to Alexander of all that had happened, informing him of the way that Bessus took, and how near he was at hand; for many men of worth daily ran from him. Hereupon Alexander again doubled his pace, and his van-guard being discovered by Bessus's rear, Bessus brought a horse to the cart, where Darius lay bound, persuading him to mount thereon, and to save himself. But the unfortunate king refusing to follow those that had betrayed him, they cast darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the beasts that drew him, and slew two poor servants that attended his person. This done, they all fled

that could, leaving the rest to the mercy of the Macedonian swords.

Polystratus, a Macedonian, being by pursuit of the vanquished pressed with thirst, as he was refreshing himself with some water that he had discovered, espying a cart with a team of wounded beasts breathing for life, and not able to move, searched the same, and therein found Darius bathing in his own blood. And by a Persian captive which followed this Polystratus, he understood that it was Darius, and was informed of this barbarous tragedy; Darius also seemed greatly comforted, (if dying men ignorant of the living God can be comforted,) that he cast not out his last sorrows unheard, but that by this Macedonian, Alexander might know and take vengeance on those traitors which had dealt no less unworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their revenge to Alexander by this messenger, which he besought him to pursue, not because Darius had desired it, but for his own honour, and for the safety of all that did or should after wear crowns. He also, having nothing else to present, rendered thanks to Alexander for the kingly grace used towards his wife, mother, and children, desiring the immortal gods to submit unto him the empire of the whole world. As he was thus speaking, impatient death pressing out his few remaining spirits, he desired water, which Polystratus presented him; after which he lived but to tell him, that of all the best things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath wherewith to desire the gods to reward his compassion.

SECT. XIV.

How Alexander pursued Bessus, and took into his grace Darius's captains.

IT was now hoped by the Macedonians that their travels were near an end, every man preparing for his return. Hereof when Alexander had knowledge, he was greatly grieved; for the bounded earth sufficed not his boundless ambition. Many arguments he therefore used to draw on

his army further into the east; but that which had most strength was, that Bessus, a most cruel traitor to his master Darius, having at his devotion the Hyrcanians and Bactrians, would in short time (if the Macedonians should return) make himself lord of the Persian empire, and enjoy the fruits of all their former travails. In conclusion, he wan their consents to go on; which done, leaving Craterus with certain regiments of foot, and Amyntas with six thousand horse in Parthenia, he enters, not without some opposition, into Hyrcania; for the Mardons, and other barbarous nations, defended certain passage for a while. He passeth the river of Zioberis, which taking beginning in Parthia dissolves itself in the Caspian sea; it runneth under the ledge of mountains which bound Parthia and Hyrcania, where hiding itself under ground for three hundred furlongs, it then riseth again, and followeth its former course. In Zadracarta, or Zeudracarta, the same city which Ptolomy writes Hyrcania, the metropolis of that region, he rested fifteen days, banqueting and feasting therein.

Phataphernes, one of Darius's greatest commanders, with other of his best followers, submit themselves to Alexander, and were restored to their places and governments. But of all other he graced Artabazus most highly, for his approved and constant faith to his master Darius. Artabazus brought with him ten thousand and five hundred Greeks, the remainder of all those that had served Darius; he treats with Alexander for their pardon before they were yet arrived, but in the end they render themselves simply without promise or composition; he pardons all but the Lacedæmonians, whom he imprisoned, their leader having slain himself. He was also wrought (though to his great dishonour) to receive Nabarzanes, that had joined with Bessus to murder Darius.

SECT. XV.

Of Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, where by way of digression it is shewed that such Amazons have been and are.

HERE it is said that Thalestris, or Minothea, a queen

of the Amazons, came to visit him; and her suit was, (which she easily obtained,) that she might accompany him till she were made with child by him; which done, (refusing to follow him into India,) she returned into her own country.

Plutarch citeth many historians, reporting this meeting of Thalestris with Alexander, and some contradicting it. But indeed the letters of Alexander himself to Antipater, recounting all that befell him in those parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this Amazonian business, may justly breed suspicion of the whole matter as forged. Much more justly may we suspect it as a vain tale, because an historian of the same time reading one of his books to Lysimachus, (then king of Thrace,) who had followed Alexander in all his voyage, was laughed at by the king for inserting such news of the Amazons as Lysimachus himself had never heard of. One that accompanied Alexander took upon him to write his acts, which to amplify, he told how the king had fought single with an elephant, and slain it. The king hearing such stuff, caught the book, and threw it into the river of Indus, saying, that it were well done to throw the writer after it, who, by inserting such fables disparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as we believe and know that there are elephants, though it were false that Alexander fought with one; so may we give credit unto writers, making mention of such Amazons, whether it were true or false that they met with Alexander, as Plutarch leaves the matter undetermined. Therefore I will here take leave to make digression, as well to shew the opinions of the ancient historians, cosmographers, and others, as also of some modern discoverers touching these warlike women, because not only Strabo, but many others of these our times make doubt, whether or no there were any such kind of people. [m] Julius Solinus seats them in the north parts of Asia the Less. Pomp. Mela finds two regions filled with them; the one, on the river Thermodoon, the other near the Caspian sea, [n] *quas*, saith he,

[m] Solin. c. 27. et 65. [n] Ther. l. 1.

Sauromatidas appellant, "which the people call Sauro-"matidas." The former of these two had the Cimmerians for their neighbours: *Certum est* (saith Vadianus, who hath commented upon Mela) *illos proximos Amazonibus fuisse*; "It is certain that the Cimmerians were the next nations to "the Amazons." [o] Ptolomy sets them further into the land northwards, near the mountains Hippaci, not far from the pillars of Alexander. And that they had dominion in Asia itself toward India, Solinus and Pliny tell us, where they governed a people called the Pandeans, or Padeans, so called after Pandea the daughter of Hercules, from whom all the rest derive themselves. [p] Claudian affirms, that they commanded many nations; for he speaks (largely perhaps as a poet) thus:

Medis levibusque Sabæis
Imperat hic sexus: reginarumque sub armis,
Barbariæ pars magna jacet.

Over the Medes and light Sabæans reigns
This female sex, and under arms of queen
Great part of the Barbarian land remains.

[q] Diodorus Siculus hath heard of them in Libya, who were more ancient, saith he, than those which kept the banks of Thermodoon, a river falling into the Euxine sea near Heraclium.

Herodotus doth also make report of these Amazons, whom he tells us that the Scythians call Æorpatas, which is as much as Viricidas, or men-killers. And that they made incursion into Asia the Less, sacked Ephesus, and burnt the temple of Diana, Manethon and Aventinus report, which they performed forty years after Troy was taken. At the siege of Troy itself we read of [r] Penthesilea, that she came to the succour of Priamus.

[s] Am. Marcellinus gives the cause of their inhabiting upon the river of Thermodoon, speaking confidently of

[o] Ptol. l. 6. Asiæ Tab. 2. Plin. l. 6. c. 20.
[p] Claud. de cap. Proserpinæ.
[q] Diod. l. 2.
[r] Æneiad. 1. l. 3.
[s] Mar. l. 22. c. 7.

the wars they made with divers nations, and of their overthrow.

Plutarch, in the Life of Theseus, out of Philochorus, Hellanicus, and other ancient historians, reports the taking of Antiopa queen of the Amazons by Hercules, and by him given to Theseus, though some affirm, that Theseus himself got her by stealth when she came to visit him aboard his ship. But in substance there is little difference, all confessing that such Amazons there were. The same author, in the Life of Pompey, speaks of certain companies of the Amazons, that came to aid the Albanians against the Romans, by whom, after the battle, many targets and buskins of theirs were taken up; and he saith further, that these women entertain the Gelæ and Lelages once a year, nations inhabiting between them and the Albanians.

But to omit the many authors making mention of Amazons that were in the old times, [t] Fran. Lopez, who hath written the navigation of Orellana, which he made down the river of Amazons from Peru in the year 1542, (upon which river, for the divers turnings, he is said to have sailed six thousand miles,) reports from the relation of the said Orellana, to the council of the Indies, that he both saw those women and fought with them, where they sought to impeach his passage towards the east sea.

It is also reported by Ulricus Schmidel, that in the year 1542, when he sailed up the rivers of Paragna and Parabol, that he came to a king of that country called Scherues, inhabiting under the tropic of Capricorn, who gave his captain Ernando Rieffere, a crown of silver, which he had gotten in fight from a queen of the Amazons in those parts.

Ed. Lopes, in his description of the kingdom of Congo, makes relation of such Amazons, telling us, that (agreeable to the reports of elder times) they burn off their right breast, and live apart from men, save at one time of the year, when they feast and accompany them for one month. These, saith he, possess a part of the kingdom of Mono-

[t] Hist. Ind. part. 2. c. 28.

motapa in Africa, nineteen degrees to the southward of the line: and that these women are the strongest guards of this emperor, all the East Indian Portugals know.

I have produced these authorities, in part, to justify mine own relation of these Amazons, because that which was delivered me for truth by an ancient cacique of Guiana, how upon the river of Papamena (since the Spanish discoveries called Amazons) that these women still live and govern, was held for a vain and unprobable report.

SECT. XVI.

How Alexander fell into the Persians' luxury; and how he further pursued Bessus.

NOW as Alexander had begun to change his conditions after the taking of Persepolis, so at this time his prosperity had so much overwrought his virtue, as he accounted clemency to be but baseness, and the temperance which he had used all his lifetime but a poor and dejected humour, rather becoming the instructors of his youth, than the condition and state of so mighty a king as the world could not equal. For he persuaded himself that he now represented the greatness of the gods; he was pleased that those that came before him should fall to the ground and adore him; he ware the robes and garments of the Persians, and commanded that his nobility should do the like; he entertained in his court and camp the same shameless rabble of courtesans and Sodomitical eunuchs that Darius had done, and imitated in all things the proud, voluptuous, and detested manners of the Persians, whom he had vanquished. So licentious is felicity, as notwithstanding that he was fully persuaded, that the gods whom he served (detesting the vices of the invaded) assisted him in all attempts against them, he himself, contrary to the religion he professed, (which, how idolatrous soever it were, could not be but fearful unto him by neglecting it,) became by imitation, and not by ignorance or education, a more foul and fearful monster than Darius, from whose tyranny he vaunted to have delivered so many nations. Yea, those that were dear-

est and nearest unto him began to be ashamed of him, entertaining each other with this and the like scornful discourse; that Alexander of Macedon was become one of Darius's licentious courtiers; that by his example the Macedonians were in the end of so many travails more impoverished in their virtues than enriched by their victories; and that it was hard to judge, whether the conquerors or the conquered were the baser slaves. Neither were these opinions so reserved, but that the noise of them came to his ears. He therefore with great gifts sought to pacify the better sort, and those of whose judgments he was most jealous; and making it known to the army that Bessus had assumed the title of a king, and had called himself Artaxerxes, and that he had compounded a great army of the Bactrians and other nations, he had arguments enough to persuade them to go on, to the end that all already gotten might not with themselves (so far engaged) be cast away. And because they were pestered with the spoils of so many cities, as the whole army seemed but the guard of their carriages, (not much unlike the warfare of the French,) having commanded every man's fardels to be brought into the market-place, he, together with his own, caused all to be consumed with fire. Certainly this could not but have proved most dangerous unto him, seeing the common soldiers had more interest in these things, which they had bought with their painful travails and with their blood, than in the king's ambition; had not, as Seneca often observed, his happy temerity overcome all things. As he was in his way, news came to him that Satibarzanes, whom he had established in his former government over the Arians, was revolted; whereupon leaving the way of Bactria he sought him out; but the rebel hearing of his coming fled to Bessus with two thousand horse. He then went on towards Bessus, and by setting a great pile of wood on fire, with the advantage of a strong wind, won a passage over a high and unaccessible rock, which was defended against him with thirteen thousand foot. For the extremity of the flame and smoke forced them from the place, otherwise invincible.

I saw in the third civil war of France certain caves in Languedoc, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the midway of high rocks, which we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at last by certain bundels of straw let down by an iron chain, and a weighty stone in the midst, those that defended it were so smothered, as they rendered themselves with their plate, money, and other goods therein hidden. There were also, some three years before my arrival in Guiana, three hundred Spaniards well mounted, smothered to death, together with their horses, by the country people, who did set the long dry grass on fire to the eastward of them, (the wind in those parts being always east,) so as notwithstanding their flying from the smoke, there was not any one that escaped. Sir John Borrowes also, with a hundred English, was in great danger of being lost at Margarita in the West Indies, by having the grass fired behind him; but the smoke being timefully discovered, he recovered the sea-shore with the loss of sixteen of his men. I remember these things but to give caution to those that shall in times to come invade any part of those countries, that they always before they pass into the land burn down the grass and sedge to the east of them: they may otherwise, without any other enemy than a handful of straw set on fire, die the death of honey-bees burnt out of the hive.]

SECT. XVII.

A conspiracy against Alexander. The death of Philotas and Parmenio.

ALEXANDER was, after he parted hence, no where resisted till he came into Aria, to the east of Bactria, where the chief city of that province, called Artacoana, was a while defended against him, by the revolt of Satibarzanes, but in the end he received the inhabitants to mercy. At this place his army was reinforced with a new supply of five thousand and five hundred foot, and near five hundred horse, out of Greece, Thessaly, and other places. His journey out of Persia into these parts is very confusedly

described. For having (as all his historians tell us) a determination to find Bessus in Bactria, he leave it at the very entrance, and takes the way of Hyrcania; from thence he wanders northward towards the obscure Mardi, upon the Caspian sea, and thence over the mountains Coronus into Aria and Drangiana.

At this time it was that the treason of Dimnus brake out, of which Philotas the son of Parmenio was accused, as accessary, if not principal. This Dimnus, having (I know not upon what ground) conspired with some others against the life of Alexander, went about to draw Nicomachus, a young man whom he loved, into the same treason. The youth, although he was first bound by oath to secresy, when he heard so foul a matter uttered, began to protest against it so vehemently, that his friend was like to have slain him for security of his own life. So, constrained by fear, he made show as if he had been won by persuasion, and by seeming at length to like well of the business, he was told more at large what they were that had undertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of rank, whose names Dimnus (to countenance the enterprise) reckoned up to Nicomachus. Nicomachus had no sooner freed himself from the company of this traitor Dimnus, than he acquainted his own brother Ceballinus with the whole history: whereupon it was agreed between them, that Ceballinus (who might with least suspicion) should go to the court and utter all. Ceballinus meeting with Philotas told him the whole business, desiring him to acquaint the king therewith; which he promised to do, but did not. Two days passed, and Philotas never brake with the king about the matter; but still excused himself to Ceballinus by the king's want of leisure. This his coldness bred suspicion, and caused Ceballinus to address himself to another, one Metron, keeper of the king's armoury, who forthwith brought him to Alexander's presence. Alexander, finding by examination what had passed between Ceballinus and Philotas, did fully persuade himself that this concealment of the treason argued his hand to have been in the business. Therefore

when Dimnus was brought before him, he asked the traitor no other question than this; "Wherein have I so offended "thee, that thou shouldest think Philotas more worthy to "be king than I?" Dimnus perceiving when he was apprehended how the matter went, had so wounded himself, that he lived no longer than to give his last groan in the king's presence. Then was Philotas called, and charged with the suspicion which his silence might justly breed. His answer was, that when the practice was revealed unto him by Nicomachus, he judging it to be but frivolous did forbear to acquaint Alexander therewithal, until he might have better information. This error of his, (if it were only an error,) although Alexander, for the notorious services of his father Parmenio, of his brother Nicanor lately dead, and of Philotas himself, had freely pardoned, and given him his hand for assurance, yet by the instigation of Craterus, he again swallowed his princely promise, and made his enemies his judges: Curtius gives a note of Craterus in this business; *Non aliam præferens;* how he persuaded himself, that he could never find a better occasion to oppress his private enemy, than by pretending piety and duty towards the king. Hereof a poet of our own hath given a note as much better as it is more general in his Philotas.

See how these great men clothe their private hate
In these fair colours of the public good;
And to effect their ends, pretend the state,
As if the state by their affection stood;
And, arm'd with power and princes' jealousies,
Will put the least conceit of discontent
Into the greatest rank of treacheries,
That no one action shall seem innocent;
Yea, valour, honour, bounty, shall be made
As accessaries unto ends unjust;
And even the service of the state must lade
The needfull'st undertaking with distrust;
So that base vileness, idle luxury,
Seem safer far, than to do worthily, &c.

Now, although it were so, that the king, following the ad-

vice of Craterus, had resolved the next day to put Philotas to torment, yet in the very evening of the same night in which he was apprehended, he called him to a banquet, and discoursed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night Philotas was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him began to bind him, he cried out upon the king in these words; "O Alexander, "the malice of mine enemies hath surmounted thy mercy, "and their hatred is far more constant than the word of a "king." Many circumstances were urged against him by Alexander himself; (for the kings of Macedon did in person examine the accusations of treason;) and this was not the least, (not the least offence, indeed, against the king's humour, who desired to be glorified as a god,) that when Alexander wrote unto him concerning the title given him by Jupiter Hammon, he answered, that he could not but rejoice that he was admitted into that sacred fellowship of the gods, and yet he could not but withal grieve for those that should live under such a one as would exceed the nature of man. This was, saith Alexander, a firm persuasion unto me, that his heart was changed, and that he held my glory in despite. See what a strange monster flattery is, that can persuade kings to kill those that do not praise and allow those things in them, which are of all other most to be abhorred. Philotas was brought before the multitude to hear the king's oration against him: he was brought forth in vile garments, and bound like a thief, where he heard himself, and his absent father, the greatest captain of the world, accused, his two other brothers, Hector and Nicanor, having been lost in the present war. He was so greatly oppressed with grief, as for a while he could utter nothing but tears; and sorrow had so wasted his spirits, as he sunk under those that led him. In the end, the king asked him in what language he would make his defence; he answered, in the same wherein it had pleased the king to accuse him; which he did, to the end that the Persians, as well as the Macedonians, might understand him. But hereof the king made his advantage, persuading the assem-

bly that he disdained the language of his own country, and so withdrawing himself, left him to his merciless enemies.

This proceeding of the king's Philotas greatly lamented, seeing the king, who had so sharply inveighed against him, would not vouchsafe to hear his excuse. For, not his enemies only were emboldened thereby against him, but all the rest having discovered the king's disposition and resolution, contended among themselves which of them should exceed in hatred towards him. Among many other arguments which he used in his own defence, this was not the weakest, that when Nicomachus desired to know of Dimnus what men of mark and power were his partners in the conspiracy, (as seeming unwilling to adventure himself with mean and base companions,) Dimnus named unto him Demetrius of the king's chamber, Nicanor, Amyntas, and some others, but spake not a word of Philotas, who, by being commander of the horse, would greatly have valued the party, and have encouraged Nicomachus. Indeed, as Philotas said well for himself, it is likely that Dimnus, thereby the better to have heartened Nicomachus, would have named him, though he had never dealt with him in any such practice. And for more certain proof that he knew nothing of their intents that practised against the king, there was not any one of the conspirators, being many, enforced by torments or otherwise, that could accuse him; and it is true, that adversity being seldom able to bear her own burden, is for the most part found so malicious, as she rather desires to draw others (not always deserving it) into the same danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet at the last, howsoever it were, to avoid the extremity of resistless and unnatural torments, devised by his professed enemies Craterus, Cenus, Hephæstion, and others, Philotas accused his ownself; being persuaded that they would have slain him forthwith. But he failed even in that miserable hope, and suffering all that could be laid on flesh and blood, he was forced to deliver, not what he knew, but whatsoever best pleased their ears, that were far more merciless than death itself.

Of this kind of judicial proceeding St. Augustin greatly

complaineth, as a matter to be bewailed, saith he, with fountains of tears: [t] *Quid cum in sua causa quisque torquetur: et cum quæritur utrum sit nocens cruciatur: et innocens luit pro incerto scelere certissimas pœnas: non quia illud commisisse detegitur, sed quia non commisisse nescitur;* "What shall we say to it, when one is put to torture in his "own case; and tormented whilst yet it is in question whether he be guilty; and being innocent, suffers assured punishment for a fault of which there is no certainty, not "because he is known to have committed the offence, but "because other do not know that he hath not committed it."

It had been enough for Alexander's safety, if Philotas had been put to death without torment, the rest would not much have grieved thereat, because he was greatly suspected. But Hemolaus, who afterward conspired against him, made the king's cruelty and delight in blood the greatest motive of his own ill intent. Therefore Seneca, speaking of Alexander, saith thus: [u] *Crudelitas minime humanum malum est, indignum tam miti animo; ferina ista rabies est sanguine gaudere et vulneribus, et abjecto homine, in silvestre animal transire;* "Cruelty is not a human vice; it is unworthy of so mild a spirit. It is even a beastly rage to "delight in blood and wounds, and casting away the nature of man, to become a savage monster."

For the conclusion of this tragedy, Curtius makes a doubt whether the confession that Philotas made were to give end to the torments which he could not any longer endure, or that the same was true indeed; for, saith he, in this case, they that speak truly, or they that deny falsely, come to one and the same end. Now while the king's hands were yet wet in blood, he commanded that Lyncestes, son-in-law to Antipater, who had been three years in prison, should be slain: the same despatch had all those that Nicomachus had accused; others there were that were suspected, because they had followed Philotas; but when they had answered for themselves, that they knew no way so direct to win the king's favour, as by loving those whom the

[t] Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 19. c. 6. [u] Sen. de Clem. l. 1.

king favoured, they were dismissed. But Parmenio was yet living; Parmenio, who had served with great fidelity, as well Philip of Macedon the king's father as himself; Parmenio, that first opened the way into Asia; that had depressed Attalus the king's enemy; that had always, and in all hazards, the leading of the king's van-guard; that was no less prudent in counsel than fortunate in all attempts; a man beloved of the men of war, and, to say the truth, he that had made the purchase for the king of the empire of the east, and of all the glory and fame he had; that he might not therefore revenge the death of his son, though not upon the king, (for it was unlikely that he would have dishonoured his fidelity in his eldest age, having now lived threescore and ten years,) yet upon those that by the witchcraft of flattery had possessed themselves of his affection, it was resolved that he should be despatched. Polydamus was employed in this business, a man whom of all other Parmenio trusted most and loved best, who (to be short) finding him in Media, and having Cleander and other murderers with him, slew him walking in his garden, while he was reading the king's letters: [x] *Hic exitus Parmenionis fuit, militiæ domique clari viri; multa sine rege prospere, rex sine illo nihil magnæ rei gesserat;* "This was the end "of Parmenio," saith Curtius, "who had performed many "notable things without the king; but the king, without "him, did never effect any thing worthy of praise."

SECT. XVIII.

How Alexander subdued the Bactrians, Sogdians, and other people. How Bessus was delivered into his hands. How he fought with the Scythians.

WHEN these things had an end, Alexander went on with his army, and brought under his obedience the Araspians, or Euergitans; he made Amenides (sometime Darius's secretary) their governor; then he subdued the Arachosians, and left Menon to command over them. Here the army, sometimes led by Parmenio, finds him, consisting of twelve

[x] Lib. 7.

thousand Macedons and Greeks, with whom he passed through some cold regions with difficulty enough. At length he came to the foot of the mountain Taurus towards the east, where he built a city which he honoured with his own name, and peopled it with seven thousand of his old Macedons, worn with age and with travails of the war. The Arians, who since he left them were revolted, he subdued again by the industry and valour of Caranus and Erigius; and now he resolves to find out the new king Bessus in Bactria. Bessus, hearing of his coming, prepares to pass over the great river of Oxus which divides Bactria from Sogdiana; Artabazus is made governor of Bactria, abandoned by Bessus; the Macedonian army suffereth for want of water, insomuch as when they came to the river of Oxus, there died more of them by drinking inordinately than Alexander had lost in any one battle against the Persians. And it may well be; for (as Clytus did after object unto him) he fought against women, not against men, and not against their persons, but their shadows. He found on the banks of this great river no manner of timber or other materials, to make either boats, bridges, or raft, but was forced to sew together the hides that covered his carriages, and stuff them with straw, and on them in six days to pass over his armies, which Bessus might easily have distressed, if he had dared but to behold the Macedonian army afar off. He had formerly complained against Darius, for neglecting to defend the banks of Tigris, and other passages; and yet now, when this traitorous slave had styled himself a king, he durst not perform any thing worthy of a slave. And therefore those that were nearest unto him, and whom he most trusted, to wit, Spitamines, Dataphernes, Catanes, and others the commanders of his army, moved both by the care of their own safety, and by the memory of Bessus's treason and cruelty against Darius, bound him in the like manner that he had done his master; but with this difference, that he had the chain closed about his neck like a mastiff dog, and so was dragged along to be presented to his enemy.

In the meanwhile Alexander was arrived at a certain

town inhabited with Greeks of Miletum, brought thither by Xerxes, when long before he returned out of Greece, whose issues had well-near forgotten their country language. These most cruelly (after they had received him with great joy) he put to the sword, and destroyed their city. At this place he received Bessus, and, having rewarded Spitamenes with the rest that delivered him, he gave the traitor into the hands of Oxatres, Darius's brother, to be tormented.

But while he now thought himself secure, some twenty thousand mountaineers assaulted his camp; in repelling whom he received a shot in the leg, the arrow-head sticking in the flesh, so as he was carried in a horselitter, sometime by the horsemen, sometime by the foot.

Soon after he came unto Maracanda, which Petrus Perondinus takes to be Samarcand, the regal city of the great Tamerlain. It had in compass threescore and ten furlongs, Curtius saith. Here he received the ambassadors of the Scythians, (called Avians,) who offered to serve him.

The Bactrians are shortly again with the Sogdians stirred to rebellion by the same Spitamenes and Catanes who had lately delivered into his hands the traitor Bessus. Many cities were resolvedly defended against him; all which, after victory, he defaced and rased, killing all therein. At one of these he received a blow on the neck which struck him to the ground, and much disabled him for many days after. In the mean while Spitamenes had recovered Maracanda, against whom he employed Menedemus with three thousand foot and eight hundred horse.

In the heat of these tumults Alexander marched on (if we may believe Curtius and others) till he came to the river of Tanais, upon whose bank he built another Alexandria, threescore furlongs in compass, which he beautified with houses within seventeen days after the walls built. The building of this city is said to have been occasion of a war between him and the Scythians, the Scythian king persuading himself, that this new town was fortified of purpose to

keep him under. I do not well understand why the Scythians, offering war in such terrible manner that Alexander was judged by his own soldiers to counterfeit sickness for very fear, should nevertheless make suit for peace; neither find I the reason why Alexander (not intending the conquest of those northern deserts, but only the defence of his own bank) should refuse to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further than they should agree to suffer him. Yet hereof is made a great matter, and a victory described; in pursuit of which the Macedons ran beyond the bounds and monuments of Bacchus's expedition.

The truth is, that Curtius and Trogus have greatly mistaken this river which they call Tanais. For it was the river of Iaxartes, that runs between Sogdiana and Scythia, which Alexander passed over, while Menedemus was employed in the recovery of Samarcand; but Tanais, which divides Asia from Europe, is near two thousand miles distant from any part of Bactria or Sogdiana, and the way desert and unknown. So that Alexander had (besides Iaxartes) the great river of Volga and many others to swim over, ere he could recover Tanais; which (from the place where he was) he could hardly have discovered with the army that followed him, if he had employed all the time that he lived in Asia in that travail.

Wherefore it is enough to believe that the Asiatic Scythians, making some offer to disturb the erection of this new city, which was like to give some hinderance to their excursions, were driven away by the Macedonians; and being naked of defensive arms, easily chased some ten or twelve miles, which is the substance of Curtius's report. As for the limits of Bacchus's journey, like enough it is that Bacchus (if in his lifetime he were as sober a man as after his death he was held a drunken god) went not very far into that waste country, where he could find nothing but trees and stones, nor other business than to set up a monument.

Threescore of the Macedons are said to have been slain,

and one thousand one hundred hurt in this fight; which might easily be, in passing a great river, defended against them by good archers. Of Scythian horses one thousand eight hundred were brought into the camp, and many prisoners. It is forbidden by some historians, and indeed it is hardly possible, to set down the numbers of such as perish in battle; yet Cæsar commonly did it. And where the diligence of the victors hath been so inquisitive into the greatness of their own success, that writers have been able to deliver such particulars by credible report; I hold it not unlawful to set down what we find, especially when it serves to give light to the business in hand. The small number which the Macedonians lost, the omission of the number which they slew, (a thing not usual in Curtius, who forbears nothing that may set out the greatness of Alexander,) and the little booty that was gotten, do make it probable, that this war was no better than the repulsion of a few roving Tartars, (the like being yearly performed by the Muscovite, without any boast,) and therefore better omitted by some historians, than so highly extolled as a great exploit by others.

While Alexander was assuring himself of those Scythians bordering upon Iaxartes, he received the ill news that Menedemus was slain by Spitamenes, the army (by him led) broken, and the greatest numbers slain, to wit, two thousand foot and three hundred horse. He therefore, to appease the rebellion, and to take revenge of Spitamenes, makes all the haste he can; but Spitamenes flies unto Bactria. Alexander kills, burns, and lays waste all before him; not sparing the innocent children, and so departs, leaving a new governor in that province.

To repair this loss, he received a great supply of nineteen thousand soldiers out of Greece, Lycia, and Syria; with all which, and the old army, he returns towards the south, and passeth the river of Oxus; on the south side whereof he built six towns near each other for mutual succour. But he finds a new start-up rebel, called Arimazes, (a Sogdian,) followed with thirty thousand soldiers that defended against

him a strong piece of ground on the top of a high hill, whom, when Alexander had sought in vain to win by fair words, he made choice of three hundred young men, and promised ten talents to the first, nine to the second, and so in proportion to the rest, that could find a way to creep up to the top thereof. This they performed with the loss of some two and thirty of their men, and then made a sign to Alexander, that they had performed his commandment. Hereupon he sent one Cophes to persuade Arimazes to yield the place; who, being shewed by Cophes that the army of Macedon was already mounted up, yielded simply to Alexander's mercy, and was (with all his kindred) scourged and crucified to death; which punishment they well deserved for neglecting to keep good watch in so dangerous a time. For the place, as seems by the description, might easily have been defended against all the armies of the world. But what strength cannot do, man's wit, being the most forcible engine, hath often effected; of which I will give you an example in a place of our own.

The island of Sark, joining to Guernsey, and of that government, was in queen Mary's time surprised by the French, and could never have been recovered again by strong hand, having cattle and corn enough upon the place to feed so many men as will serve to defend it, and being every way so inaccessible, that it might be held against the great Turk. Yet by the industry of a gentleman of the Netherlands, it was in this sort regained. He anchored in the road with one ship of small burden, and, pretending the death of his merchant, besought the French, being some thirty in number, that they might bury their merchant in hallowed ground, and in the chapel of that isle; offering a present to the French of such commodities as they had aboard; whereto (with condition that they should not come ashore with any weapon, no not so much as with a knife) the Frenchmen yielded. Then did the Flemings put a coffin into their boat, not filled with a dead carcass, but with swords, targets, and harquebusses; the French received them at their landing; and searching every of them so nar-

rowly as they could not hide a penknife, gave them leave to draw their coffin up the rocks with great difficulty: some part of the French took the Flemish boat, and rowed aboard their ship, to fetch the commodities promised, and what else they pleased; but being entered, they were taken and bound. The Flemings on the land, when they had carried their coffin into the chapel, shut the door to them; and taking their weapons out of the coffin, set upon the French; they run to the cliff, and cry to their company aboard the Fleming to come to their succour; but finding the boat charged with Flemings, yielded themselves and the place. Thus a fox-tail doth sometimes help well to piece out the lion's skin, that else would be too short.

SECT. XIX.

How Alexander slew his own friends.

After these Sogdian and Scythian wars, we read of Alexander's killing of a lion, and other frivolous matter, and that he committed the government of Maracanda and the country about it to Clytus, and how he slew him soon after, for valuing the virtue of Philip the father before that of Alexander the son, or rather because he objected to the king the death of Parmenio, and derided the oracle of Hammon; for therein he touched him to the quick, the same being delivered in public and at a drunken banquet. Clytus, indeed, had deserved as much at the king's hands as any man living had done, and had in particular saved his life, which the king well remembered when he came to himself, and when it was too late. Yet, to say the truth, Clytus's insolency was intolerable. As he in his cups forgat whom he offended, so the king in his (for neither of them were themselves) forgat whom he went about to slay; for the grief whereof he tore his own face, and sorrowed so inordinately, as, but for the persuasions of Callisthenes, it is thought he would have slain himself.

Wine begat fury, fury matter of repentance; but preceding mischiefs are not amended by succeeding bewailings: *Omne vitium ebrietas et incendit, et detegit; obstantem ma-*

lis conatibus verecundiam removet; ubi possedit animum nimia vis vini, quicquid mali latebat, emergit: non facit ebrietas vitia, sed protrahit: "Drunkenness both kindles "and lays open every vice; it removes out of the way that "shame which gives impediment unto bad attempts: where "wine gets the mastery, all the ill that before lay hidden "breaks out: drunkenness indeed rather discovers vices, "than makes them."

Soon after this, Spitamenes, who slew Bessus, and had lately revolted from Alexander, was murdered by his wife, and his head presented to Alexander. Spitamenes being taken away, the Dahans also seized upon his fellow-conspirator Dataphernes, and delivered him up. So Alexander, being now freed from all these petty rebels, disposed of the provinces which he passed over, and went on with his army into Gabaza, where it suffered so much hunger, cold, lightning, thunder, and storm, as he lost in one tempest a thousand of his train. From hence he invaded the [z] Sacans, and destroyed their country. Then came he into the territory of Cohortanes, who submitted himself unto him, feasted him greatly, and presented him with thirty beautiful virgins, among whom Roxane, afterward his wife, was one: which although all the Macedonians disdained, yet none of them durst use any freedom of speech after Clytus's death. From hence he directed his course towards India, having so increased his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand armed men.

In the mean while he would needs be honoured as a god: whereto that he might allure the Macedonians, he employed two pernicious parasites, Hagis and Cleo, whom Callisthenes opposed: for, among many other honest arguments used to the assembly, he told Cleo, that he thought that Alexander would disdain the gift of godhead from his vassals; that the opinion of sanctity, though it did sometime follow the death of those who in their lifetime had done the greatest things, yet it never accompanied any one as yet living in the world. He further told him, that neither Hercules nor

[z] Curt. l. 9.

Bacchus were deified at a banquet, and upon drink, (for this matter was propounded by Cleo at a carousing feast,) but that, for the more than manly acts by them performed while they lived, they were in future and succeeding ages numbered among the gods. Alexander stood behind a partition, and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunity to be revenged on Callisthenes, who being a man of free speech, honest, learned, and a lover of the king's honour, was yet soon after tormented to death, not for that he had betrayed the king to others, but because he never would condescend to betray the king to himself, as all his detestable flatterers did. For in a conspiracy against the king, made by one Hermolaus and others, (which they confessed,) he caused Callisthenes, without confession, accusation, or trial, to be torn asunder upon the rack. This deed, unworthy of a king, Seneca thus censureth: *Hoc est Alexandri crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum fœlicitas redimet. Nam quotiens quis dixerit, Occidit Persarum multa millia; opponitur, et Callisthenem: quotiens dictum erit, Occidit Darium; opponitur, et Callisthenem. Quotiens dictum erit, Omnia oceano tenus vicit, ipsum quoque tentavit novis classibus, et imperium ex angulo Thraciæ usque ad orientis terminos protulit: dicetur, sed Callisthenem occidit. Omnia licet antiqua ducum regumque exempla transierit, ex his quæ fecit nihil tam magnum erit, quam scelus Callisthenes.* "This is the eternal crime of Alexander, which "no virtue nor felicity of his in war shall ever be able to "redeem. For as often as any man shall say, He slew "many thousand Persians; it shall be replied, He did so, "and he slew Callisthenes: when it shall be said, He slew "Darius; it shall be replied, And Callisthenes: when it "shall be said, He won all as far as to the very ocean, "thereon also he adventured with unusual navies, and ex-"tended his empire from a corner of Thrace to the utmost "bounds of the orient; it shall be said withal, But he killed "Callisthenes. Let him have outgone all the ancient ex-"amples of captains and kings, none of all his acts makes "so much to his glory, as Callisthenes to his reproach."

SECT. XX.

Of Alexander's journey into India. The battle between him and Porus.

WITH the army before remembered, of one hundred and twenty thousand foot and horse, Alexander did enter the borders of India, where such of the princes as submitted themselves unto him he entertained lovingly, the rest he constrained, killing man, woman, and child, where they resisted. He then came before Nisa, built by Bacchus, which after a few days was rendered unto him. From thence he removed to a hill at hand, which on the top had goodly gardens filled with delicate fruits and vines, dedicated to Bacchus, to whom he made feasts for ten days together. Now when he had drank his fill, he went on towards Dedala, and thence to Acadera, countries spoiled and abandoned by the inhabitants, by reason whereof, victuals failing, he divides his army; Ptolomy led one part, Cenon another, and himself the rest. They take many towns, whereof that of greatest fame was Mazage, which had in it three hundred thousand men; but after some resistance, it was yielded unto him by Cleophe the queen, to whom again he restored it: at the siege of this city he received a wound in the leg. After this, Nora was taken by Polysperchon, and a rock of great strength by himself; he won also a passage upon one Eryx, who was slain by his company, and his head presented to Alexander. This is the sum of Alexander's doings in those parts, before such time as he arrived at the river of Indus. Coming to Indus, he found there Hephæstion, who (being sent before) had prepared boats for the transportation of his army, and, ere Alexander's arrival, had persuaded Omphis, king of that part of the country, to submit himself to this great conqueror. Therefore, soon upon Alexander's coming, Omphis presented himself with all the strength of his country, and six and fifty elephants, unto him, offering him his service and assistance. He made Alexander know that he was an enemy to the next two great kings of that part of India, named Abiasares and Porus, wherewith Alexander was not a little pleased, hoping

by this disunion to make his own victory by far the more easy. He presented Alexander with a crown of gold, so did he the rest of his commanders, and withal fourscore talents of silver coin, which Alexander not only refused, but to shew that he was covetous of glory, not of gold, he gave Omphis a thousand talents of his own treasure, besides other Persian rarities. Abiasares, having heard that Alexander had received his enemy Omphis into his protection, resolved to make his own peace also: for, knowing that his own strength did but equal that of Omphis, and that there was no other difference between them than that which the chance of war gave, he thought it an ill match when Alexander, who had already beaten under foot all the greatest princes of Asia, should make himself a party and head of the quarrel. So had Alexander none now to stand in his way but Porus, to whom he sent a commandment, that he should attend him at the border of his kingdom, there to do him homage. But from Porus he received this manly answer; That he would satisfy him in his first demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgment he was resolved to take counsel of his sword. To be short, Alexander resolves to pass over the river Hydaspes, and to find Porus at his own home. Porus attends him on the further bank with thirty thousand foot, fourscore and ten elephants, and three hundred armed chariots, and a great troop of horse. If Darius had done the like on Tigris, Alexander had surely stayed somewhat longer ere he had seen India. The river was four furlongs broad, which makes half a mile, and withal deep and swift. It had in it many islands, among which there was one well shadowed with wood, and of good capacity. Alexander sent Ptolomy up the river with a great part of the army, shrouding the rest from the view of Porus; who by this device being drawn from his first encamping, sets himself down opposite to Ptolomy, supposing that the whole army of Macedon meant to force their passage there. In the mean while Alexander recovers the further shore without resistance. He orders his troops,

and advanceth towards Porus, who at first rather believes that Abiasares his confederate (but now the confederate of fortune) had been come over Hydaspes to his aid, than that Alexander had passed it. But he finds it otherwise, and sends his brother Hagis, with four thousand horse and a hundred armed waggons, to entertain him. Each waggon had in it four to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little use, for there had fallen so much rain, and thereby the fields were so moistened, as the horses could hardly trot. The Scythians and Dahans had the vanguard, who so galled these Indians, as they brake their reins and other furniture, overturning the waggons and those in them. Perdiccas also gave upon the Indian horsemen, and the one and the other were forced to recoil. Porus moves forward with the gross of his army, that those of his vanguard scattered might recover his rear: Alexander, being followed with Hephæstion, Ptolomy, and Perdiccas, took on him to charge the Indian horsemen on the left wing, commanding Cenus, or Cenon, to invade the right; Antigonus and Leonatus he directed to break upon Porus's battle of foot, strengthened with elephants, Porus himself being carried upon one of them of the greatest stature. By these beasts the Macedonian foot were most offended; but the archers and darters being well guarded with the long and strong pikes of the Macedons, so galled them, as being enraged, they turned head, and ran over the foot that followed them: in the end, and after a long and doubtful fight, by the advantage of weapon, and by the courage and skilfulness of the Macedonian captains, the victory fell to Alexander, who also far exceeded Porus in number: for besides the Macedonians and other eastern and northern nations, Porus was assailed by his own confederate and country people. Yet for his own person he never gave ground otherwise than with his sword towards his enemies, till, being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his army, he became a prisoner to the conqueror, from whom again he received his estate with a great enlargement.

SECT. XXI.

How Alexander finished his expedition, and returned out of India.

I FORBEAR to trouble myself and others with a frivolous discourse of serpents, apes, and peacocks, which the Macedonians found in these their travels; or of those petty wars which Alexander made between the overthrow of Porus, and his sailing down the river of Indus. The descriptions of places about the head and branches thereof are better known unto us in this age, by means of our late navigations into those parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of those kings we could in no sort be persuaded to believe, till our own experience had taught us, that there were many stranger things in the world, than are to be seen between London and Staines.

Our great traveller Mandeville, who died in the year 1372, and had seen so much of the world, and of the East India, we accounted the greatest fabler of the world; yet had he another reputation among other nations, as well able to judge as we. Witness the monument made of him in the convent of the friars [y] Guillimins in Liege, where the religious of that place keep some things of his, *comme pour honorable mémoire de son excellence*, "for an honourable "memory of his excellency," saith Guichardine.

The countries towards the springs of Indus, and where those many rivers of Hydaspes, Zaradris, Acesines, and the rest, fall into the main stream, are now possessed by the great Mogor, the ninth from Tamberlane, who commands all that tract between Persia and Indus towards the west, as also a great extent of country towards Ganges. In the mouth of Indus, the Ascension, a ship of London, suffered shipwreck in the year 1609, and some of the company travelled over land till they came to Agra, the same great city (as I take it) which our later cosmographers call Nagra, being named of old Dionysopolis.

Philostratus, in the Life of Apollonius Tyanæus, speaking

[y] Guic. in Disc. of the Low Countries.

of the expedition of Bacchus and Hercules into the East India, tells us, that those two great captains, (whom Alexander sought by all means to outfame,) when they endeavoured to subject unto them the Oxydracæ, a people inhabiting between the rivers of Hyphasis and Ganges, they were beaten from the assault of their cities with thunder and lightnings. This may well be understood by the great ordnance that those people had then in use. For it is now certainly known, that the great kings of the uttermost east have had the use of the cannon many hundreds of years since, and even since their first civility and greatness, which was long before Alexander's time. But Alexander pierced not so far into the east. It sufficed, that having already overwearied his army, he discovered the rest of India by fame. The Indian kings whom he had subdued, informed him, that a prince called Aggramenes, who commanded many nations beyond the river of Ganges, was the powerfullest king of all those regions; and that he was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand foot, three thousand elephants, twenty thousand horse, and two thousand armed chariots. With this report, though Alexander were more inflamed than ever to proceed in this discovery and conquest, yet all the art he had could not persuade the soldiers to wander over those great deserts beyond Indus and Ganges, more terrible unto them than the greatest army that the east could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many persuasive orations, to follow him towards the south, to discover such part of the ocean-sea as was nearer at hand, whereunto the river of Indus was their infallible guide. Alexander, seeing that it would be no otherwise, devised a pretty trick, wherewith he hoped to beguile posterity, and make himself seem greater than he was. He enlarged his camp, made greater trenches, greater cabins for the soldiers, greater horse-stalls, and higher mangers than his horses could feed in. He caused all furniture of men and horses to be made larger than would serve for use; and scattered these armours and bridles about his camp, to be kept as relics, and wondered at by the savages. Pro-

portionable to these, he raised up twelve great altars, to be the monument of his journey's end. This was a ready way to increase the fame of his bigness; to his greatness it could add nothing, save a suspicion that it was less than is thought, seeing he strove so earnestly to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned again to the bank of Acesines, and there determined to set up his fleet where Acesines and Hydaspis encounter; where, to testify by a surer monument how far he had passed towards the east, he built by those rivers two cities; the one he called Nicæa, and the other Bucephalon, after the name of his beloved horse Bucephalus. Here again he received a fourth supply of six thousand Thracian horsemen, seven thousand foot, and from his lieutenant at Babylon five and twenty thousand armours, garnished with silver and gold, which he distributed among his soldiers. About these rivers he won many towns, and committed great slaughter on those that resisted; it is then written of him, that assaulting a city of the Oxidracans, he leaped from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, against all the inhabitants; tales, like those of Bevis of Southampton, frivolous and incredible. Finally, he passed down the river with his fleet, at which time also the news came unto him of a rebellion in Bactria, and then of the arrival of an hundred ambassadors from a king of India, who submitted himself unto him. He feasted these ambassadors upon a hundred beds of gold, with all the sumptuosity that could be devised, who soon after their despatch returned again with a present of three hundred horse, one hundred and thirty waggons, and to each four horses, a thousand targets, with many other things rare and rich.

Their entertainments ended, he sails towards the south, passeth through many obscure nations, which did all yield unto him, either quietly or compelled by force: among these he builded another Alexandria. Of many places which he took in this passage, Samus was one, the inhabitants whereof fought against him with poisoned swords,

with one of which Ptolomy (afterward king of Egypt) was wounded, and cured by an herb which Alexander dreamed that he had seen in the mouth of a serpent.

When he came near the outlet of Indus, (being ignorant of the tides of the sea,) his galleys, as they were on a sudden shuffled one upon another by the flood, so on the ebb they were left on the dry ground, and on the sandy banks of the river, wherewith the Macedonians were much amazed; but after he had a few days observed well the course of the sea, he passed out of the river's mouth some few miles, and, after sacrifices offered to Neptune, returned: and the better to inform himself, he sent Nearchus and Onesicritus to discover the coast towards the mouth of Euphrates. Arrianus, in the beginning of his sixth book, hath written this passage down the river of Indus at length, with the manner of the vessels in which he transported his army, the commanders that were used therein, and other the marvellous provisions made.

Near the outlets of this river he spent some part of the winter, and in eighteen days' march from thence recovered Gedrosia; in which passage his army suffered such misery for want of food, that of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, which he carried into India, not the fourth part returned alive.

SECT. XXII.

Of Alexander's riot, cruelty, and death.

FROM Gedrosia Alexander led his army into Carmania, and so drawing near to Persia, he gave himself wholly to feasting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of Bacchus. And though this swinish vice be hateful enough in itself, yet it always inflamed this king to cruelty. "For," saith Curtius, "the hangman followed the feast; for Aspastes, one "of his provincial governors, he commanded to be slain; so "as neither did the excess of voluptuousness qualify his cru-"elty, nor his cruelty hinder in ought his voluptuousness."

While he refreshed his army in these parts, a new supply of five thousand foot and a thousand horse was brought

him by Cleander and his fellows, that had been employed in the killing of Parmenio. Against these murderers great complaint was made by the deputies of the provinces in which they had commanded; and their offences were so outrageous, as Alexander was persuaded, that, had they not altogether despaired of his return out of India, they durst not have committed them. All men were glad of the occasion, remembering the virtue of him whom they had slaughtered. The end was, that Cleander and the other chief, with six hundred soldiers by them employed, were delivered over to the hangman; every one rejoicing that the ire of the king was at last executed on the ministers of his ire.

Nearchus and Onesicritus were now returned from the coast, and made report of an island rich in gold, and of other strange things; whereupon they were commanded to make some further discovery; which done, that they should enter the mouth of Euphrates, and find the king at Babylon.

As he drew near to Babylon he visited the sepulchre of [z] Cyrus in Pasargada, now called Chelquera; where he was presented with many rich gifts by Orsines, one of the princes of Persia, of the race of Cyrus. But because Bagoas, an eunuch in especial favour with the king, was neglected, he not only practised certain loose fellows to witness against Orsines, that he had robbed Cyrus's tomb, for which he was condemned to die; but he assisted the hangman with his own hands in tormenting him. At which time also Alexander caused Phradates to be slain, suspecting his greatness: *Cœperat*, saith Curtius, *esse præceps ad repræsentanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda*; "He began "headlongly to shed blood, and to believe false reports." It is true, that he took a way to make all men weary of his government, seeing cruelty is more fearful than all the adventures that can be made against it.

At this time it is said that Calanus the philosopher burnt himself, when he had lived threescore and thirteen years. Whether herein he followed the custom of his country, be-

[z] Arrianus hath a far different description of Cyrus's tomb.

ing an Indian, or sought to prevent the grief and incommodity of elder age, it is uncertain: but in this the historians agree, that foreseeing and foreshewing Alexander's death, he promised to meet him shortly after at Babylon.

From Pasargada he came to Susa, where he married Statira, Darius's eldest daughter, giving her younger sister to his beloved Hephæstion, and fourscore other Persian ladies to his captains. There were six thousand guests invited to the feast, to each of which he gave a cup of gold. Here there came unto him three thousand young soldiers out of his conquered provinces, whereat the Macedonians greatly murmured. Harpalus, his treasurer in Babylon, having lavishly consumed the monies in his keeping, got him going with five thousand talents, and six thousand hired soldiers, but he was rejected in Greece, and there slain. Alexander greatly rejoiced at the fidelity of the Greeks, whom Harpalus with these forces and treasures could not stir; yet he sent commandment that they should again receive their banished men, whereunto (fearful of his indignation) all submitted themselves, (except the Athenians,) though they resolved that it was a manifest preparation towards their bondage. After this, there followed a marvellous discontentment in his army, because he had resolved to send into Macedon all those old soldiers which could no longer endure the travail of war, and to keep the rest in Asia. He used many orations to satisfy them, but it was in vain during the tempest of their fury. But afterward, as whales are drawn to the land with a twine thread, when they have tumbled a while, so are the unconsiderate multitude easily conducted when their first passions are evaporate. With such as were licensed to depart he sent Craterus, to whom he gave the lieutenantship of Macedon, Thessaly, and Thrace, which Antipater had held from his first departure out of Europe, who had beaten the rebellious Greeks in his absence, discharged the trust committed unto him with great fidelity, and sent him so many strong supplies into Asia from time to time. Certainly, if Alexander had not taken counsel of his cups, he would have cast some

better colour on this alteration, and given Antipater a stronger reason for his remove, than to have employed him in the conduction of a new supply to be brought him to Babylon, the war being now at an end. For Antipater saw nothing in this remove, but the king's disposition to send him after Parmenio and the rest. With this Antipater the king, notwithstanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: princes, though jealous, do not stand in doubt of every man ill-affected though valiant; but there is a kind of kingly courage, compounded of hardiness and understanding, which is many times so fearful unto them, as they take leave both of law and religion to free themselves thereof.

After he had sent for Antipater, he made a journey into Media, to settle things there, where Hephæstion, whom he favoured most of all men, dies. The king, according to the greatness of his love, laments his loss, hangs his physician, and bestows upon his monument twelve thousand talents; after which he returns to Babylon. Thither Antipater came not, but sent; and not to excuse himself, but to free himself. For if we believe Curtius, (whom Plutarch and others gainsay,) Antipater, by his sons Cassander, Philip, and Iölla, who waited on Alexander's cup, gave him poison, Thessalus (who was of the conspiracy) having invited him to a drinking-feast of purpose. For after he had taken a carouse in Hercules's cup, a draught of drink stronger than Hercules himself, he quitted the world within a few days.

Certainly the princes of the world have seldom found good by making their ministers over-great, and thereby suspicious to themselves. For he that doth not acknowledge fidelity to be a debt, but is persuaded that kings ought to purchase it from their vassals, will never please himself with the price given. The only restorative indeed that strengthens it is the goodness and virtue of the prince, and his liberality makes it more diligent, so as proportion and distance be observed. It may be that Antipater, having commanded two or three kingdoms twelve years, knew not now how to play any other part; no more than Cæsar did,

after he had so long a time governed the Gauls, where he utterly forgat the art of obedience. A most cruel and ungrateful traitor Antipater was, if Curtius do not belie him; for though he feared some ill measure upon his remove, (the tragedies of Parmenio, Clytus, and Callisthenes having been so lately acted,) yet he knew nothing to the contrary, but that the king had resolved to have given him some other great government in Asia: the old soldiers, thence returned, having perchance desired to be governed by Craterus, whom they had followed in all the former war.

SECT. XXIII.

Of Alexander's person and qualities.

HOWSOEVER it were, Alexander's former cruelties cannot be excused, no more than his vanity to be esteemed the son of Jupiter, with his excessive delight in drink and drunkenness, which others make the cause of his fever and death. In that he lamented his want of enterprising, and grieved to consider what he should do when he had conquered the world, Augustus Cæsar found just cause to deride him, as if the well-governing of so many nations and kingdoms, as he had already conquered, could not have offered him matter more than abundant to busy his brains withal. That he was both learned and a lover of learning, it cannot be doubted: sir Francis Bacon, in his first book of the Advancement of Learning, hath proved it sufficiently. His liberality I know not how to praise, because it exceeded proportion. It is said, that when he gave a whole city to one of his servants, he, to whom it was given, did out of modesty refuse it, as disproportionable to his fortune: to whom Alexander replied, That he did not inquire what became him to accept, but the king to give: of which Seneca, [a] *Animosa vox videtur et regia, cum sit stultissima. Nihil enim per se quemquam decet. Refert quid, cui, quando, quare, ubi, &c. sine quibus facti ratio non constabit; habeatur personarum et dignitatum proportio, et cum sit ubique virtutis modus, æque peccat quod excedit, quam quod*

[a] Lib. 2. de Ben. c. 1.

deficit; "It seems a brave and royal speech, whereas in-"deed it is very foolish. For nothing simply considered "by itself beseems a man. We must regard what, to "whom, when, why, where, and the like; without which "considerations no act can be approved. Let honours be "proportioned unto the persons: for whereas virtue is ever "limited by measure, the excess is as faulty as the defect."

For his person, it is very apparent, that he was as valiant as any man, a disposition, taken by itself, not much to be admired; for I am resolved that he had ten thousand in his army as daring as himself. Surely, if adventurous natures were to be commended simply, we should confound that virtue with the hardiness of thieves, ruffians, and mastiff dogs. For certainly it is no way praiseworthy but in daring good things, and in the performance of those lawful enterprises, in which we are employed for the service of our kings and commonweals.

If we compare this great conqueror with other troublers of the world, who have bought their glory with so great destruction and effusion of blood, I think him far inferior to Cæsar, and many other that lived after him, seeing he never undertook any warlike nation, the naked Scythians excepted, nor was ever encountered with any army of which he had not a most mastering advantage, both of weapons and of commanders, every one of his father's old captains by far exceeding the best of his enemies. But it seemeth, fortune and destinies (if we may use those terms) had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his own, both heaps of men that willingly offered their necks to the yoke, and kingdoms that invited and called in their own conquerors. For conclusion, we will agree with Seneca, who speaking of Philip the father, and Alexander the son, gives this judgment of them: [b] *Quod non minores fuere pestes mortalium quam inundatio, qua planum omne perfusum est, quam conflagratio qua magna pars animantium exaruit;* "That they were no less plagues to mankind, than "an overflow of waters, drowning all the level; or some

[b] Natural. Quæst. l. 3. q. 1.

" burning drought, whereby a great part of living creatures " is scorched up."

CHAP. III.

The reign of Aridæus.

SECT. I.

Of the question about succession to Alexander.

THE death of Alexander left his army (as Demades the Athenian then compared it) in such case, as was that monstrous giant Polyphemus, having lost his only eye. For that which is reported in fables of that great Cyclops might well be verified of the Macedonians: their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance uneffectual, and harmful chiefly to themselves. The causes whereof (under the divine ordinance) were partly the uncertainty of title to succession in the kingdom of Macedon; partly the stubborn pride of Alexander himself, who thinking none worthy to be his heir, did refuse to establish the right in any one, leaving every one to his own fortune; but especially the great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their master to suffer no equals, a lesson soon taught unto spirits reflecting upon their own worth, when the reverence of a greater object faileth.

It hath formerly been shewed, that Philip (the father of Alexander) governing in Macedon as protector, assumed unto himself the kingdom, not rendering it unto Amyntas, (the son of his elder brother Perdiccas,) when he grew to man's estate; but only bestowing upon him in marriage a daughter of his own; by which bond, and much more by his proper strength, he assured the crown unto himself: Amyntas never attempting ought against Philip, though (with price of his life) he did against Alexander in the beginning of his reign. Wherefore Eurydice, the sole issue of his marriage, ought in reason to have been acknowledged queen after Alexander, as having better title thereto than

either he or Philip had when they lived, unless (peradventure) some law of that nation forbade the reign of women. But the excellent virtue of those two princes had utterly defaced the right of all pretenders, not claiming from their own bodies; and so great were their conquests, that Macedon itself was (in regard of them) a very small appendix, and no way deserving to be laid in balance against the demand of their posterity, had they left any able to make challenge of the royal seat.

Alexander, having taken many wives, had issue by none of the principal of them. Barsine, the daughter of Artabazus, a Persian, had borne unto him a young son; and Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes, (whom he had more solemnly married,) was left by him great with child. But the baseness of the mothers, and contempt of the conquered nations, was generally alleged in bar of the plea made for them, by some that would (perhaps) have wrought out their own ends, under the name of Alexander's children.

Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, widow to the king of Epirus, and Aridæus his base brother, (son to Philip by a concubine of no account,) who had married the lady Eurydice beforementioned, were next in course. Of Cleopatra there was no speech which may give suspicion that either law or custom had made that sex uncapable of the sovereignty; Aridæus (besides his bastardy) was neither for person nor quality fit to rule as king; yet upon him the election fell, but slowly, and (as happeneth often) for lack of a better; when the counsellors, having over-laboured their disagreeing wits in devising what was best, were content for very weariness to take what came next to hand.

Ptolomy (soon after king of Egypt) concurring with them who rejected all mention of the half Persian brood, king Alexander's children, was of opinion, that the rule of all should be given to the captains, that going for law which by the greater part of them should be decreed; so far was he from acknowledging any one as true heir to the crown.

This Ptolomy was called the son of Lagus, but reputed of Philip; who having used the company of Arsinoë, Pto-

lomy's mother, delivered her in marriage to Lagus, being great with child. Therefore, whether it were so, that he hoped well to work his own fortune out of those dissensions which are incident unto the consultations of many ambitious men, equal in place, forcing them at length to redeem their quiet with subjection to one, deserving regard by his blood, and trust for his even carriage; or whether he desired only to get a share to himself, which could not have come to pass had all been given to one; plain enough it is, that he thought not on preferring Aridæus before himself; and therefore gave such counsel as fitted his own and other men's purposes. Yea, this device of his took place in deed, though not in form as he had propounded it; for it was in effect all one to have assembled at Alexander's empty chair, as Ptolomy had conceived the form of their consultations, or to set in the chair such a king as Aridæus, no wiser than the chair itself. Also the controversies arising were determined by the greater part of the captains; by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puissance.

But as these counterfeit shows of dissembling aspirers do often take check by the plain-dealing of them who dare to go more directly to work; so was it like to have fared with Ptolomy and the rest, when Aristonus, another of the captains, interpreted the words of Alexander, saying, that he left his kingdom to the worthiest, as designing Perdiccas, to whom (lying at the point of death) he delivered his ring. It seemed good in reason that Alexander should be disposer of his own purchases; and those tokens of Alexander's purpose appeared plain enough, so long as no man would interpose another construction; every one being uncertain how the secret affections of the rest might be inclined. Many therefore, either out of their love, or because they would not be of the latest, urged Perdiccas to take upon him the estate royal. He was no stranger to the royal blood; yet his birth gave him not such reputation as the great favour of his dead king, with whom he had been very inward, and that especially since the death of Hephæstion, (a powerful minion,) into whose place he was chosen. For his

own worth he might well be commended, as a good man of war, and one that had given much proof of his private valour. But very surly he was; which quality (joined with good fortune) carried a show of majesty; being checked with misadventure, it was called by a true name, *pride*, and rewarded with death.

In the present business, a foolish overweening did him as great harm, as it had been great happiness to have succeeded Alexander: for, not content to have the acclamation of the soldiers, approving the sentence of Aristonus, he would needs counterfeit modesty; thinking that every one of the princes would have entreated him to take the weighty burden of an empire, which would be the less envious, the more solemnity he used in the acceptance. It is truly said, he that feigneth himself a sheep may chance to be eaten by a wolf. Meleager (a man by nature envious, and bearing a particular hatred to Perdiccas) took advantage of his irresolute behaviour, and very bitterly inveighed against him. In conclusion, he pronounced, that whosoever was heir to the crown, the soldiers ought to be heirs to the treasure; and therefore he invited them, who were nothing slow, to share it. This disturbed all the consultation. The captains were left alone, far enough from agreeing, and not able to have brought any conclusion to good effect without consent of the soldiers, who, greedy of spoil, thronged about Meleager.

SECT. II.

The election of Aridæus, with the troubles thereabout arising; the first division of the empire.

DURING this uproar, mention was made of Aridæus by some one, and entertained with good liking of many, until at last it grew to the voice of the army. Meleager, having withdrawn himself tumultuously from the company of the lords, was glad of so fair an occasion to make himself great; therefore he produced Aridæus, commended him to the soldiers, who called him by his father's name Philip, and brought him into the palace, investing him in Alexander's

robes, and proclaiming him king. Many of the nobles withstood this election, but in vain; for they could not resolve what course to follow, rejecting this. Only Python, a hotheaded man, took upon him to proclaim the son of Alexander by Roxana, according to the counsel which Perdiccas at first had given, appointing Perdiccas and Leonatus his protectors. But this child was not yet born, which made that attempt of Python vain. Finally, Perdiccas with six hundred men, and Ptolomy with the king's pages, took upon them to defend the place where Alexander's body lay; but the army conducted by Meleager, who carried the new king about whither he listed, easily brake in upon them, and enforced them to accept Aridæus for their sovereign lord. Then, by the intercession of the ancient captains, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither side faithfully meant.

Leonatus, who was of the royal blood, a goodly gentleman, and valiant, issued out of Babylon, being followed by all the horse, which consisted (for the most part) of the nobility. Perdiccas abode in the city, (but standing upon his guard,) that he might be ready to take the opportunity of any commotion that should happen among the infantry. The king (who was governed by Meleager) commanded or gave leave to have Perdiccas made away; which attempt succeeded ill, being neither secretly carried, nor committed to sure executioners. Their coming was not unexpected; and they were by Perdiccas rebuked with such gravity, that they departed honester than they came; being sorry of their bad enterprise. Upon the news of this attempt the camp was in an uproar, which the king seeking to pacify wanted authority, as having newly got the crown by them, and holding it by their courtesy. The matter itself afforded no good excuses, and his indiscretion made them worse. He said that no harm was done, for Perdiccas was alive; but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprise, which he imputed to Meleager; abandoning the surest of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeased, until the king by offering to resign his estate

unto them, renewed out of their pity that favourable affection which had moved them to set him up at the first.

Perdiccas having now joined himself with Leonatus, kept the fields, intending to cut off all provision of victuals from the city. But after sundry embassies passing between the king and the nobles, (they requiring to have the authors of sedition given up into their hands; the king, that Meleager might be joined with Leonatus and Perdiccas, as a third in government of the army,) things were compounded according to the king's desire. Meleager should have done well to consider, that such men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to give him a principal place among them without any new occasion offered, had not some purpose of treachery lurked under their great facility. General peace was renewed, and much love protested where little was intended. The face of the court was the same which it had been in Alexander's time; but no longer now did the same heart give it life, and windy spirits they were which moved in the arteries. False reports were given out by appointment of Perdiccas, tending to his own disgrace, but in such terms as might seem to have proceeded from Meleager; who finding part of the drift, but not all, took it as an injury done to himself; and (as desirous of a true friendship) desired of Perdiccas, that such authors of discord might be punished. Perdiccas (as a lover of peace) did well approve the motion; and therefore agreed that a general muster should be made, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receive their punishment (as was the manner for soldiers offending) in presence of the army. The plot was mischievously laid. Had Meleager given way to seditious rumours, he must needs have incurred the general hatred of all, as a sower of dissension; and thereby with public approbation might have been cut off, as having often offended in that kind; his prince being too weak a patron. Now seeking redress of these disorders, he hastened his own ruin, by a less formal, but more speedy way. This kind of muster was very solemn, and practised with many ceremonies, as

for cleansing of the army. The horsemen, the elephants, the Macedonian foot, the mercenaries, were each according to their quality set in array, apart from others, as if they had been of sundry sorts, met at adventure; which done, the manner was to skirmish (as by way of exercise) according to direction of their several captains. But at that time the great battle of Macedonian pikes, which they called the *phalanx*, led by Meleager, was of purpose bestowed in a ground of disadvantage; and the countenance of the horse and elephants beginning to give charge upon them, was such as discovered no jesting pastime nor good intent. Kings were always wont to fight among the horsemen; of which custom Perdiccas made great use that day, to the utter confusion of his enemies. For Aridæus was always governed by him, which for the present had him in possession. Two or three days before, he had sought the death of Perdiccas at the instigation of Meleager; now he rides with Perdiccas up and down about the footmen, commanding them to deliver unto the death all such as Perdiccas required. Three hundred they were who were cast unto the elephants, and by them slain, in the presence of the king, who should have defended them, and of their affrighted companions. But these three hundred were not the men whose punishment Meleager had expected; they were such as had followed him, when he disturbed the first consultation that was held about the election of a new king, and some of them his especial friends. Having therefore kept himself quiet a while, as unwilling to give offence to them which had the advantage; when he saw their proceedings tend very manifestly to his destruction, he fled away into a temple, which he found no sanctuary; for thither they sent and slew him.

The army being thus corrected was led into the city, where a new council of the princes was held, who finding what manner of man their king was, divided all the provinces of the empire among themselves; leaving to Aridæus the office of a visitor, and yet making Perdiccas his protector, and commander of the forces remaining with him.

Then were the funerals of Alexander thought upon, whose body having been seven days neglected, was opened, and embalmed by the Egyptians; no sign of poison appearing, how great soever the suspicion might be. The charge of his burial was committed to Aridæus, one of the captains, who was two years preparing of a great and costly show, making a stately chariot, in which the corpse was laid; many corpses of his friends being laid in the ground, before that of Alexander was bestowed in Alexandria, a city of his own building in Egypt.

SECT. III.

The beginning of the Lamian war.

WHILST these things were in doing, or presently after, Antipater and Craterus, two principal noblemen, and inferior to none of Alexander's followers, if not greater than any of the rest, were busied in Greece with a war which the Athenians more bravely than wisely had begun in Alexander's life, but now did prosecute more boldly than before, upon the courage which they had taken by his death. Alexander, not long before he died, had commanded that all the banished Greeks (few excepted) should be restored unto their former places. He knew the factious quality of the Grecian estates, and therefore thought so to provide, that in every city he would have a sure party. But it fell out otherwise; for he lost the hearts of many more than he wan by this proud injunction. His pleasure indeed was fulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole nation, as being against all order of law, and a beginning of open tyranny. The Athenians, greatly decayed in estate, but retaining more than was needful of their ancient spirits, forbade the execution of this decree in their dominions; so did also the Ætolians, who were valiant men, and inhabited a region well fortified by nature; yet neither of them took arms, but seemed to bear themselves as men that had done no more than they might well justify by reason; nevertheless, to prevent the worst, the Athenians gave secret instructions to Leosthenes, a captain of theirs, willing him to levy an army, but in his own name, and to keep it in a readiness

for their use. This was no hard thing for Leosthenes to do; great numbers of Greek soldiers being lately returned from the Asian war in poor estate, as defrauded of their pay by the captains. Of these he had gathered up eight thousand, when the certain news were brought of Alexander's death; at which time the city of Athens declared itself, and more honourably than wisely proclaimed open war against the Macedonians for the liberty of Greece. Hereupon Leosthenes drew in the Ætolians and some other estates, gave battle to the Bœotians, who sided with Antipater, and overthrew them; growing so fast in reputation, and so strong in adherents, that Antipater (arming in all haste, yet suspecting his own strength) was fain to send into Asia to Craterus for succour.

Nothing is more vain than the fears and hopes of men, shunning or pursuing their destinies afar off, which deceive all mortal wisdom, even when they seem near at hand. One month was scarcely past, since nothing so heavily burdened the thoughts of Antipater as the return of Craterus into Macedon, which he then feared as death, but now desired as the most likely assurance of his life. Craterus, whom Alexander held as of all men the most assured unto him, was sent into Macedon, to convey home the old soldiers, (that was the pretence,) and to succeed Antipater in the government of Macedon and Greece. The suspicions were strong that he had a privy charge to put Antipater to death; neither did that which was commonly published sound much better; which was, that Antipater should be sent unto the king as captain of the young soldiers, newly to be levied in Europe: for Alexander was much incensed against him by his mother Olympias; and would sometimes give out speeches testifying his own jealousy and hatred of him; but yet he strove to smother it, which in a cruel prince betokeneth little good. Few of Alexander's lieutenants had escaped with life; most of them indeed were mean persons in regard of those who followed him in his Indian expedition, and were therefore, perhaps, removed, to make place for their betters. But if the king's

rigour was such, as could find rebellious purposes (for so he interpreted even lewd government) in base persons; little might Antipater hope for, who, having sitten viceroy ten years in the strongest part of the empire, was called away to the presence of so fell a master, and the envy of a court, wherein they had been his inferiors, which would now repine to see him their equal. Therefore, whether his fear drew him to prevention, working first the king's death by poison, given by his son Iolaus, Alexander's cupbearer; or whether it brake not forth until opportunity had changed it into the passion of revenge, which was cruelly performed by his son Cassander, great cause of much fear he had, which I note in this place as the ground of effects to be produced in very few years.

At the present Craterus was sent for, and all the captains of companies lying near solicited to make haste. Not without cause. For in Macedon there could not at that time be raised more than thirteen thousand foot, and six hundred horse; which muster was of raw soldiers, all the force of the country being emptied into Asia. The Thessalians indeed, who had long stood firm for Philip and Alexander, who also were the best horsemen of Greece, furnished him with very brave troops, that might have done great service, had their faith held out, which they changed for the liberty of Greece. With these forces did Antipater in Thessaly try the fortune of a battle with Leosthenes; rather (as may seem) fearing the increase of his enemy's power and rebellion of the Greeks, (were they not checked at the first,) than presuming on his own strength. For Leosthenes had of Athenians, Ætolians, and mercenaries, two and twenty thousand foot, besides the assistance of many petty seigniories, and of some Illyrians and Thracians: of horse he brought into the field about two thousand and five hundred; but overstrong he was that way also, when once the Thessalians had revolted unto him. So Antipater lost the day; and his loss was such, that he neither was able to keep the field, nor to make a safe retreat into his own country; therefore he fled into the town of Lamia, which

was well fortified, and well provided of all things necessary to bear out a siege. Thither did Leosthenes follow him, present him battle again, and upon the refusal close up the town with earth-works and a wall. There will we leave him for a while, travelling in the last honourable enterprise that ever was undertaken by that great city of Athens.

SECT. IV.

How Perdiccas employed his army.

KING Aridæus living under the rule of Perdiccas, when all the princes were gone each to his own province, kept a naked court; all his greatness consisting in a bare title, supported by the strength of his protector, who cared not for him otherwise than to make use of him. Perdiccas had no province of his own peculiar, neither was he like to be welcome to any whom he should visit in his government. A stronger army than any of the rest he had, which he might easily hope, in that unsettled condition of things, to make better worth to him than many provinces could have been. The better to accomplish his desires, he closely sought the marriage of Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander; yet about the same time he either married Nicæa the daughter of Antipater, or made such love to her as blinded their eyes who did not somewhat narrowly search into his doings.

Ariarathes the Cappadocian, the second of that name, and tenth king of that country, had continued faithful to the Persian empire as long as it stood; following the example of his forefathers, even from Pharnaces the first that reigned in Cappadocia, who married Atossa, sister to the great Cyrus. Some of his ancestors had indeed been oppressed by the Persians; but what fortune took from them at one time, virtue restored at another; and their faithful princes had much increased all. But now in the fatal period of so great an empire, with much wisdom, and (Darius being slain) with sufficient honour, he might have acknowledged the Macedonian in the Persian's room. This he did not, neither did Alexander call him to account, being occu-

pied with greater cares. But Perdiccas, who had no greater business wherein to entertain his army, found it expedient both for the honour of the empire to take in that inland kingdom, surrounded with provinces of the Macedonian conquest, and for his own particular to have one opportune place of sure retreat under the government of a steadfast friend. Therefore he entered Cappadocia, fought with Ariarathes, who drew into the field thirty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, (a strong army, had it not encountered a stronger and better trained,) won the victory, and thereby the whole kingdom. But with much cruelty did he use the victory; for having taken Ariarathes prisoner with many others, he crucified him, and as many of his kindred as he could light upon; and so delivered that province to Eumenes, whom of all men living he trusted most.

Another part of his forces he had committed to Python, rather as to the most honourable of such as remained about him, than as to the most assured. Python was to subdue the Greeks, rebelling in the high countries of Asia. Above twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse they were, (all old soldiers,) who, planted in colonies by Alexander, to bridle the barbarous nations, were soon weary of their unpleasant habitations and the rude people among whom they lived; and therefore took advantage of the present troubles to seek unto themselves a better fortune. Against these Python went, more desirous to make them his own, than to destroy them: which intent of his Perdiccas discovering, did both give him in charge to put all those rebels to the sword, giving the spoils of them to his soldiers, and further enjoined it unto Python's captains, (his own creatures,) that they should see this command executed. These directions for use of the victory might have proved needless, so uncertain was the victory itself. A captain of the rebels commanding over three thousand, corrupted by Python, did in the heat of the fight (which was very doubtful) retire without necessity to a hill not far off. This dismayed the rest, and gave the day to Python; who, being far enough from Perdiccas, offered composition to the vanquished, granting

unto them their lives and liberty under condition of laying down their arms; and hereupon he gave them his faith. Being master of these companies, he might well have a good opinion of his own power; all power being then valued by strength in followers, when as none could vaunt himself as free lord of any territory. He had thirteen thousand foot and eight thousand eight hundred horse, besides these new companions, whom needless fear without great loss had caused to leave the field: but in true estimation all the greatness whereof Python might think himself assured was (and soon appeared to be) inherent in Perdiccas. For by his command were ten thousand foot and eight thousand horse of those which followed Python levied, the rulers of the provinces carefully obeying the letters of Perdiccas, by which they were enjoined to give assistance to that business: and by virtue of the precept given unto them by Perdiccas did the Macedonians cut in pieces all those poor men who had yielded themselves, leaving Python as naked as he came forth to return unto his great master.

Now was Perdiccas mighty above the mighty, and had fair leisure to pursue his hopes of marriage with Cleopatra, and thereby to make himself lord of all; but this must be secretly carried, for fear of opposition. How it succeeded will appear when the Lamian war taketh ending.

SECT. V.

The process of the Lamian war.

WE left Antipater hardly besieged, wanting means to free himself, without succours from his friends in Asia. Those helps not appearing so soon as he expected, he came to parley with Leosthenes, and would have yielded unto any terms of reason, wherewith men possessed with hope of victory do seldom limit their desires. Leosthenes willed him, without further circumstance, to submit himself to discretion. This was too much for him that had once commanded over them, who now required of him such a dishonourable composition. Wherefore, knowing that the extremities, from which as yet he was far enough, could

bring no worse with it, Antipater prepared for the defence, and the other for winning the town, which felt great want of victuals. In this lingering war, the Ætolians (whether weary of sitting still at a siege, or having business which they pretended at home) took their leave, and returned into their own country. Their departure left the trenches so thinly manned, that Antipater found means to sally out upon his enemies to their great loss, for many were slain, and Leosthenes himself among them, ere he could be repulsed into the town. Yet hereby the Macedonians were nothing relieved, their victuals wasted, and they were not strong enough to deal with the Greeks in open fight. Craterus was long in coming. Lysimachus, who was nearest at hand in Thrace, had work too much of his own, leading no more than four thousand foot and two thousand horse against Seuthas their king, who brought into the field above four times that number; and though Lysimachus, not without loss, had gotten one victory, yet the enemy abounding in multitude felt not the blow so much as might abate his courage. Therefore Leonatus was earnestly solicited by Antipater's friends to make all haste to the rescue. He had the government of Phrygia the Less, and was able to raise an army of more than twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse; whether levied out of his province, or appointed unto him out of the main army, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that he was more willing to take in hand the journey into Greece, than Antipater was to have him come. For Cleopatra had written unto him, desiring his presence at Pella, the chief city of Macedon, and very kindly offering herself to be his wife; which letters he kept not so close as had been requisite, and therefore brought himself into great suspicion, that soon ended with his life. Antiphilus, chosen general by the Athenians in place of Leosthenes, hearing of his approach, forsook the siege of Lamia, and took the ready way to these great conquerors of Asia, with purpose to give them an evil welcome home, before Antipater and they should join in one. He had (notwithstanding the departure of the Ætolians) the advan-

tage of Leonatus in horse by the odds of two thousand Thessalians; in other things he was equal to him, in cause he thought himself superior; in the fortune of that day he proved so, for he won a great victory, (chiefly by virtue of the Thessalians,) which appeared the greater by the end of Leonatus himself; who, fighting valiantly, was driven into a marish piece of ground, where he found his death, which desperately he had sought among the Indians; but it waited for him at home, not far from the place of his nativity. He was the first of Alexander's captains which died in battle, but all, or most of the rest, shall follow him the same way. After this day the Athenians did never any thing suitable to their ancient glory. The vanquished Macedonians were too weak to renew the fight, and too proud to fly. They betook themselves to high grounds, unfit for service on horseback, and so abode in sight of the enemy that day; the day following, Antipáter with his men came into their camp, and took the charge of all. The Athenians perceiving their strength to be at the greatest, and fearing lest that of the enemy should increase, did earnestly seek to determine the matter quickly by another battle. But still Antipater kept himself on ground of advantage, which gave more than reasonable confidence to the Greeks, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the enemy to be vanquished. This recklessness (incorrigible in an army of voluntaries) was very inexcusable, seeing that the victories by land were much defaced by losses at sea, where the Athenians, labouring to have made themselves once again masters, were put to the worst.

But now the fatal captivity of Greece came on, of which she never could be delivered unto this day. Craterus, with a strong army, having made great marches from Cilicia, passed over into Europe, and coming into Thessaly joined himself with Antipater. The forces of Leonatus, Antipater, and Craterus being joined in one, contained forty thousand weightily armed, three thousand light armed men, and five thousand horse; of which numbers the Greeks wanted a thousand and five hundred in horse, in foot eighteen thou-

sand. Carefully therefore did Antiphilus labour to avoid the necessity of a battle, until such time as the towns confederate should return unto the camp those bands which had straggled from it. But those companies were so slow in coming, and Antipater so urgent upon the Greeks, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more help they had carried away the victory; for the Thessalians had the upper hand, and held it, until such time as they perceived their battles (overlaid with multitude) retire unto the higher grounds, which caused them also to fall back. So the Macedonians became lords of the field, having little else to boast of, considering that with the loss of a hundred and thirty men, they had purchased only the death of some five hundred enemies. Yet hereof was great use made. For the Greeks, as not subject unto the full command of one general, and being every one desirous to preserve his own estate and city, concluded to make a treaty of peace with Antipater; who being a subtle artificer, and well understanding their aptness to division, refused to hearken to any general composition, but willed every city to deal apart for itself. The intent of his device was so apparent that it was rejected, the Greeks choosing rather to abide the coming of their assistants, whose unreasonable carelessness betrayed the cause. Antipater and Craterus besieging and winning some towns in Thessaly, which the army of the confederates wanted means and courage to relieve, wearied that nation from attending any longer upon other men's unlikely hopes, with their own assured and present calamity.

SECT. VI.

Of the peace granted to Athens by Antipater. Of Demosthenes' death.

THE Thessalians falling off, all the rest soon followed severally, and sued for peace; the gentle conditions given to the most forward inviting such as were slack. Only the Athenians and Ætolians held out. Little favour could they hope for, having been authors of this tumult, and their fear

was not great; the seat of the war being far from them. But the celerity of Antipater confounded all their imaginations; who sat still at Athens, devising upon courses of prosecuting the war to come, which came to their doors before their consultation could find issue. He was ready to enter upon their frontiers; they had no ability to resist, and were as heartless as friendless. All that remained was to send ambassadors desiring peace upon some good terms; necessity enforcing them to have accepted even the very worst. Phocion, with Demades the orator, and Xenocrates the philosopher, were chief of this embassage; Phocion as the most honourable, Demades as a strong persuader, (both of them well respected by Antipater,) and Xenocrates as one admired for wisdom, gravity of manners, and virtue; but all these ornaments consisting in speculation, and therefore of less regard, when their admiration was to cost much in real effects.

Antipater calling to mind the pride of Leosthenes, required of the Athenians that they should wholly submit themselves to his pleasure, which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to defray the charges of the war past, to pay a fine, and entertain a garrison. Further, he abrogated the popular estate, committing the government of the city to those of most wealth, depriving of the right of suffrage all such as wanted a convenient proportion of riches.

About nine thousand they were, all men of good substance, to whom the administration of the commonwealth was given, a number great enough to retain the name and form of a democraty. But the rascal multitude of beggarly persons, accustomed to get their livings out of the common troubles, being now debarred from bearing offices and giving their voices, cried out that this was a mere oligarchy, the violent usurpation of a few encroaching upon the public right. These turbulent fellows (of whom king Philip had been wont to say, that war to them was peace, and peace war) Antipater planted in Thrace, and gave them lands to manure, leaving as few of them as he could to molest the quiet of Athens.

To the same end (yet withal for satisfying his own suspicions and hatred) he caused Demosthenes and Hyperides, famous orators, with some others, to be slain. Had the death of these two, especially of Demosthenes, been forborne, the rest of his proceedings in this action might well have passed for very mild; whereas now, all such as either are delighted with the orations of Demosthenes, or have surrendered their judgments to authors justly admiring him, as the most eloquent of all that ever did speak and write, condemn him utterly, calling him a bloody tyrant. Such grace and reputation do the learned arts find in all civil nations, that the evil done to a man famous in one of them is able to blemish any action, how good soever otherwise it be, or honourably carried.

Demosthenes had taken sanctuary in the temple of Neptune, in the isle of Calauria; there did Archias (sent with soldiers by Antipater for the purpose) find him, and gently persuade him to leave the place, but not so prevailing, he threatened violence. Then Demosthenes, entreating a little respite, as it had been to write somewhat, secretly took poison, which he had kept for such a necessity, and so died; rather choosing to do the last execution upon himself, than to fall into the hands of such as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable perhaps in a heathen man) argued some valour in him, who was otherwise too much a coward in battle, howsoever valiant in persuading to enterprises, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through passages exceeding dangerous. He loved money well, and had great sums given him by the Persian to encourage him in finding work for the Macedonians at home. Neither did he ill (methinks) in taking from the Persians, which loved not his country, great rewards for speaking such things as tended to his country's good, which he did not cease to procure, when the Persians were no longer able to give him recompense. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can endure no honourable, though true mention of Antipater, may (if they can) believe Lucian, who tells us, that it was Antipater's purpose to have done him

great honour. Sure it is, that he was a steadfast enemy to the Macedonians, therefore discretion required that he should be cut off.

The matters of Athens being thus ordered, the chief command was left in the hands of Phocion, a virtuous man, and lover of his country, yet applying himself to the necessity of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the city much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grievous to freemen, yet favourable to the vanquished) he endeavoured carefully to preserve.

SECT. VII.

How Craterus and Antipater were drawn from their Ætolian wars into Asia. The grounds of the first civil war between the Macedonian lords.

SO Antipater with Craterus returned into Macedonia, where they strengthened their friendship with a new alliance, Craterus taking Phila, the daughter of Antipater, to wife.

Shortly after, they went against the Ætolians, whose poverty was not so easily daunted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerful state of Athens had been. Their country was rough and mountainous, having many places of great fastness, into which they conveyed such of their goods as they most esteemed, and of their people as were least fit for war: with the rest they fortified the strongest of their cities, and so abode the coming of the Macedonians, whom they manfully resisted. With great obstinacy did the Macedonians contend against the difficulties of the places, which the Ætolians made good as long as their victuals held out. But when Craterus had shut up all passages, and utterly debarred them of relief, then were they put to a miserable choice, either to descend from their strong holds, and fight upon equal ground with unequal numbers, or to endure the miseries of hunger and cold, against which they could make no long resistance, or to yield themselves to the Macedonians; who, incensed by the loss of many good soldiers, were not like to leave so stubborn enemies in

places which might give confidence to rebellion. In cases of extremity, much fineness of wit, apprehending all circumstances of danger, commonly doth more hurt than a blunt consideration of that only which at the present is in hand. These Ætolians did not as yet want meat, but their enemies daily molested them; wherefore as yet they thought upon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For such news came out of Asia into the Macedonian camp, as made Antipater and Craterus think every hour a month, till they had rid their hands of these Ætolians, giving them whatsoever conditions they would ask; yet with purpose to call them to severe account, yea to root them out of Greece by death or by captivity, when once they should have settled the affairs of Asia, as they hoped and desired. But of men's purposes God is the disposer; in whose high council it was ordained, that this poor nation should continue a troublesome bar to the proceedings of Macedon and Greece, and (when time had ripened the next monarchy) an open gate to let the Roman conquerors into those and other provinces. Likewise concerning the matters of Asia, the reformation intended by Antipater and Craterus was so far from taking effect, that it served merely as an introduction to all the civil wars ensuing.

The grounds of the Asiatic expedition, which did set the world in an uproar, were these. Antipater and Craterus were of Alexander's captains the mightiest in reputation; the one, in regard of his ancient precedency and the present rule which he bare in the parts of Europe; the other, as of all men the best beloved and most respected, both of Alexander and of the whole army. Next unto these had Perdiccas been, whom the advantage of his presence at the king's death did make equal or superior to either of these, if not to both together. The first intents of Perdiccas were to have consorted with these two, and to have been with them a third partner in the government of all; to which purpose he entertained the discourse of marriage with one of Antipater's daughters. But feeling in short space the strength of that gale of wind which bore him up, he began

to take wing, and soar quite another way. Aridæus was a very simple man, yet served well enough to wear the title of that majesty, whereof Perdiccas being administrator, and hoping to become proprietary, the practice was more severe than had been in the days of Alexander; the desire to seem terrible being very familiar with weak princes and their ambitious officers, who know no other means of preserving themselves from contempt, and of giving such a fiery lustre to their actions, as may dazzle the eyes of the beholders. How cruelly the poor Greeks in the Higher Asia were all put to the sword; and how tyrannously the king and princes of Cappadocia were crucified, hath already been shewed. The Pisidians were the next who felt the wrath of these counterfeit Alexanders. One city of theirs was utterly rased; the children sold for slaves, and all the rest massacred. The Isaurians, by this example grown desperate, when after two or three days trial they found themselves unable to continue the defence, locked themselves into their houses, and set the town on fire, into the flame whereof the young men did throw themselves, after that they had a while repelled the Macedonians from the walls.

These exploits being performed, the army had no other work than to sift the ashes of the burnt city for gold and silver; but Perdiccas had business of greater importance troubling his brains. Nothing was more contrary to his ends, than to sit still without employment; letting his soldiers grow idle about him, whilst others grew great, and took deep root in their several provinces. He purposed therefore to transport his forces into Europe, under pretence of bringing the king into Macedonia, the seat of his ancestors, and head of the empire. The king's presence would make the offices of his viceroys (during the time) actually void; Antipater with Craterus being once in case of private men, and only Perdiccas holding authority, the match with Cleopatra might easily be made. So should greatness meet with a good title; and what more could be wished? Some impediment the power of Ptolomy might

give, who held Egypt, well fortified with men, but much better with love of the people; yet if the business prospered in Macedonia, like enough it was that either Ptolomy would follow of himself, or be driven to come to reason. Antigonus likewise then governing in Phrygia, a busy-headed man, and ill affected to the side, was to be looked into, and made away, for fear of further trouble. So thought Perdiccas; and was deceived in so thinking. Antigonus was as good a man of war, of as deep a judgment, as high a spirit, and as great undertaking, as any of Alexander's captains. His employments had been less than some of theirs, which made him also the less respected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs; for he valued himself by his own worth, not by the opinions of other men: with careful attention had he watched Perdiccas, and sounded the depth of his purposes, which it was now high time to discover: for Perdiccas having with a jealous eye pried into the demeanour of Antigonus, and finding him no way fit for his turn, caused him to be charged with such accusations as might suffice to take away his life, especially by a judge that sought his death. This device Antigonus would not seem to perceive, but prepared himself in show to make answer, indeed to make escape, which easily he did, putting himself and his son Demetrius aboard of some Athenian galleys, that carried him to Antipater, laden with such tidings as finished the Ætolian war before mentioned.

As the coming of Antigonus made Craterus and Antipater manifestly perceive their own danger; so his flight gave Perdiccas to understand that his intentions were laid open, and must now be justified by the sword. Therefore he prepared as fast as he could, not only for defence, but (as having on his side the king's name) to meet with them at home, who were nothing slack in providing to encounter him. Ptolomy being advertised of these proceedings, and considering how nearly they concerned him, sided with Antipater. To his government of Egypt he had annexed the dominion of Cyrene, not without consent of the chief citizens; and now in the midst of these garboils he celebrated

the funeral of Alexander with great solemnity, purchasing thereby to himself much good-will and many partakers, notwithstanding the terrible report of the king's army coming against him.

SECT. VIII.

Perdiccas's voyage into Egypt, and his death.

PERDICCAS, uncertain which way to bend his main power, at length resolved to set upon Ptolomy; leaving Eumenes to keep to his use, against Craterus and Antipater, the parts of Asia bordering upon Europe.

It may seem strange, that he did not rather make head against those who were to come out of Greece with a great number, and of more able men than Ptolomy could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quick end with Ptolomy; or believed that Craterus would not be ready for him soon enough. Sure it is that he took a bad course, and made it worse with ill handling.

Ptolomy by his sweet behaviour allured many to his party, without help of any bad arts. Perdiccas contrariwise was full of insolency, which never faileth to be rewarded with hatred, that is truly defined, An affection founded upon opinion of an unjust contempt. The whole story of his proceedings in Egypt is not worth relating; for he did nothing of importance, but (as a wilful man) tired his followers, and wasted them in hard enterprises without success. His most forcible attempt was upon a little town called the Camels' Wall; thither he marched by night, with more haste than good speed; for Ptolomy preventing him, did put himself into the place, where behaving himself not only as a good commander, but as a stout soldier, he gave the foil to Perdiccas, causing him to retire with loss, after a vehement but vain assault continued one whole day. The night following, Perdiccas made another journey, (which was his last,) and came to the divisions of Nilus, over against Memphis. There with much difficulty he began to pass over his army into an island, where he meant to encamp. The current was strong, the water deep, and hardly fordable. Wherefore he placed his elephants above

the passage, to break the violence of the stream, and his horsemen beneath it, to take up such as were carried away by swiftness of the water. A great part of his army being arrived on the further bank, the channel began to wax deep; so that whereas the former companies had waded up to the chin, they who should have followed could find no footing. Whether this came by rising of the water or flitting away of the ground, (the earth being broken with the feet of so many men, horse, and elephants,) no remedy there was, but such as had passed must repass again as well as they might; for they were too weak for the enemy, and could not be relieved by their fellows. With great confusion therefore they committed themselves to the river, wherein above two thousand of them perished; a thousand were devoured by crocodiles; a miserable spectacle even to such as were out of danger; such as were strong, and could swim, recovered the camp; many were carried down the stream, and driven to the contrary bank, where they fell into the hands of their enemies.

This misfortune exasperated the soldiers against their general, giving liberty to their tongues, which long time had concealed the evil thoughts of their hearts. While they were thus murmuring, news came from Ptolomy which did set them in an uproar. Ptolomy had not only shewed much compassion on those who fell into his hands alive, but performed all rights of funeral to the dead carcasses which the river had cast upon his side; and finally, sent their bones and ashes to be interred by their kinsmen or friends. This did not only move the common soldier, but made the captains fall to mutiny, thinking it unreasonable to make war upon so virtuous and honourable a person, to fulfil the pleasure of a lordly ambitious man, using them like slaves. The sedition growing strong wanted only a head, which it quickly found. Python was there, who inwardly hated Perdiccas, for the disgrace which he had suffered by his procurement after the victory upon the rebellious Greeks. Python had lived in honourable place about Alexander; he was in the division of the provinces

made governor of Media; he had followed Perdiccas, and being in all things (the protectorship excepted) equal to him, had nevertheless been scornfully used by him, which now he requited. Drawing together a hundred of the captains, and a good part of the horse, which consisted of the gentry, (the footmen having declared themselves before,) he entered the tent of Perdiccas, where without further circumstance they all ran upon him, and slew him. Such end had the proud misgoverning authority of Perdiccas. He might have lived as great as any, could he have suffered any as great as himself; yea, peradventure master of all, had he not been too masterly over those which were already his.

The next day Ptolomy came into the camp, where he was joyfully received; he excused himself of things past, as not having been author, or given cause of the war, and was easily believed; the favour of the army being such toward him, that needs they would have made him protector in the room of Perdiccas. But this he refused. It was an office fit for one that would seek to increase his greatness with his trouble. Ptolomy was well enough already; wherefore, for his own quiet, he forbare to accept it, and for their well-deserving of him he procured that honourable charge to Python, and to Aridæus the captain, who having had some companies of soldiers, to furnish with their attendance the solemnities of Alexander's funerals, did with them adhere to him against Perdiccas.

In the midst of these businesses came news of two great victories obtained by Eumenes; which news, had they arrived two or three days sooner, had been entertained with joyful acclamation; and would have given such reputation to Perdiccas, as had caused both his private maligners to continue his open flatterers, and his open enemies to have accepted any tolerable composition. But these good tidings coming in ill time, when death had stopped the ears which would have given them welcome, found bad acceptance, as shall be shewed hereafter.

SECT. IX.

Victories of Eumenes in the Lower Asia.

BEFORE we proceed in the relation of things happening about the person of the king, it is meet that we speak of those businesses in the Lower Asia which were handled by Eumenes with notable dexterity, whilst Perdiccas was occupied in the Egyptian wars. Alcetas, the brother of Perdiccas, and Neoptolemus, had received command from Perdiccas to be assistant to Eumenes, and to follow his directions. But Alcetas made flat answer, that he would not; alleging the backwardness of his men to bear arms against so great a person as Antipater, and a man so much honoured as Craterus. Neoptolemus was content to make fair show, but inwardly he repined at the precedency given to Eumenes, as thinking himself the better man. Eumenes, discovering through the counterfeited looks of Neoptolemus the mischief lurking in his heart, wisely dissembled with him, in hope to win him by gentle behaviour and sweet language, that commonly are lost when bestowed upon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to fortify himself, that he might stand upon his own strength, he raised out of the countries under his jurisdiction about six thousand horse, giving many privileges to such as were serviceable, and training them well up. Not without great need: for when upon advertisement of the great preparations made by Craterus and Antipater (who had newly passed the Hellespont) for the invasion of his provinces, he willed Neoptolemus to come to him with all his power, Neoptolemus did indeed advance, but in hostile manner, though unprovoked, presented him battle. Neoptolemus had secretly covenanted with Antipater to lay open the way for him to the conquest of Asia, which now intending to perform, he was shamefully disappointed: for though his footmen, being all Macedonians, had much the better, and prevailed far upon Eumenes's battles; yet were his horse driven out of the field, and himself compelled, with a few of them, to run away, leaving naked the backs of his Macedonian footmen to be charged by Eumenes, who forced

them in such wise, that casting down their pikes they cried for mercy, and gladly took their oath to do him faithful service. Antipater and Craterus endeavoured with many goodly promises to draw Eumenes into their society, who contrariwise offered himself, as a mean of reconciliation, between Perdiccas and Craterus, whom he dearly loved; professing withal his hatred to Antipater, and constant faith to the cause which he had undertaken to maintain.

Whilst these negociations were on foot, Neoptolemus came with his broken crew to Antipater and his associates, vilifying Eumenes, and calling him a *scribe*, (at which foolish railing they laughed,) but extolling the virtue of Craterus (as well he might) with high commendations; assuring them, that if Craterus did but once appear, or that his voice were but heard by any Macedonian in Eumenes's camp, the victory was won, for they would all forthwith revolt unto him. Earnestly therefore he desired them to give him aid against Eumenes, and especially requested that Craterus might have the leading of the army to be sent. Their own affections did easily lead them to condescend to his motion; and good hope there was, that the reputation of Craterus might prevail as much as the force which he drew along. For he had in the midst of Alexander's vanities, when others (imitating their king) betook themselves to the Persian fashions of garments and customs, retained the ancient Macedonian form of behaviour and apparel; whereby he became very gracious with the common soldiers, who beheld these new tricks of Asia with discontented eyes, as reproachful and derogatory to the manners of their native country. So Antipater took the way towards Cilicia, to hold Perdiccas at bay, and to join with Ptolomy. Craterus used great celerity to have taken Eumenes revelling, (as he hoped,) according to the common fashion of captains after a great victory. But he had a wary and well advised enemy to encounter, who kept good espial upon him, and with much wisdom foresaw all that was to be feared, and the means of prevention, which his courage did not fail to execute.

Eumenes was not ignorant that Craterus was able to defeat him without battle, yea without stroke; him therefore he feared more than the army following him; (yet the army following him was such as much exceeded his own in footmen, but was inferior in horsemen;) and thought it more uneasy to keep the Macedonians from revolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon he took in hand a strange piece of work, which desperation (of all courses else) taught him, and wise managing prosperously accomplished. He gave out reports that Neoptolemus was returned with such company as he could gather together, and had gotten Pigres (a captain of no great estimation, who lay not far off) to join with him. Having animated his men against Neoptolemus, whom he knew to be despised and hated among them, (as having been vanquished by some of them, and forsaken others in plain field, whilst they valiantly fought in his quarrel,) he took great care to keep them from receiving any intelligence of the enemy's matters. Peremptorily he commanded that no messenger nor trumpeter should be admitted; and not herewith satisfied, he placed against Craterus no one Macedonian, nor any other that much would have regarded him, had he been known: but Thracians, Cappadocians, and Persians, under the leading of such as thought more highly of none than of Perdiccas and himself. To these also he gave in charge, that without speaking or hearkening to any word, they should run upon the enemy, and give him no leisure to say or do any thing, but fight. The directions which he gave to others he did not fail to execute in his own person; but placing himself in the right wing of his battle, opposite to Neoptolemus, who (as he understood) conducted the left wing on the contrary side, he held the Macedonians arranged in good order, and ready to charge the enemy as soon as the distance would give leave. A rising piece of ground lay between them, which having ascended, the armies discovered each other; but that of Eumenes every way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long journeys, which over hastily they had made, seeking the deceitful issue of

frivolous hopes. Then was it high time for Craterus (having failed in surprising them as enemies) to discover himself to his old friends and fellow-soldiers, of whom he could see none. Phœnix a Tenidian, and Artabazus a Persian, had the leading of that side, who, mindful of their instructions, began to give upon him with such countenance as told him his error, which to redeem, he bade his men fight, and win the day, and take the spoil to themselves. But the bear whose skin he sells is not yet caught. The ground whereon the battle was fought gave most advantage to the horse, who encountered very roughly on all parts, especially about Eumenes and Neoptolemus, who as soon as they had discovered one another could not contain themselves, but with great rage met body to body, and letting loose their bridles grappled so violently together, that their horses ran from under them, leaving both of them tumbling on the ground. Neoptolemus rose first up, but Eumenes had his sword first drawn, wherewith he houghed the other, causing him to fall down and fight upon one knee. In this conflict they received many wounds, but Neoptolemus giving slight ones took such as were deadly, by which he died in the place, and was there (being half dead half alive) stripped by his mortal enemy, whose revilings he requited, lying even at the last gasp, with one wound in the groin, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of Neoptolemus caused his followers to run away upon the spur, and seek shelter behind the battles of their foot. They were nothing hotly pursued: for Eumenes pained himself to carry succour to his left wing, which he suspected much to be distressed; but found accompanied with the same fortune that had assisted him when he fought in person. Craterus had gallantly borne himself a while, and sustained the impression of Artabazus and Phœnix with more courage than force, holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protract the fight, when he was charged by men of little estimation or note. Otherwise it is not unlikely that he might have either carried the day, or preserved himself to a better adventure by giving ground, as the rest (when he and Neo-

ptolemus were slain) did. But whilst he sought to preserve his reputation, he lost his life by the fall of his horse, or his falling from his horse, through force of a wound received; upon which accident he was trampled under foot by many that knew him not, and so perished unknown, till it was too late to know it. Eumenes coming to the place where he lay made great lamentation, as having always loved and honoured Craterus, of whose death he was now become the instrument. The vanquished army entertained a treaty of peace with Eumenes, making show of willingness to become his followers; but their intent was only to refresh themselves, which (by his permission) having done, they stole away by night, and fled toward Antipater.

This battle, fought within ten days of the former, won to Eumenes more reputation than good-will; for his own soldiers took the death of Craterus heavily, and the armies lying further off were enraged with the news. But other matters there were which incensed men against him, besides the death of Craterus, whereof it manifestly appeared, that he was as sorry as any that pretended greater heaviness. His army wanted pay. This was a great fault, which he wisely amended, by giving to them the spoil of such towns as were ill affected to him. So he redeemed the love of his own men, who of their mere motion appointed unto him a guard for defence of his person. Others were not so easy to be reconciled. They who had been traitors to Perdiccas hated him for his faithfulness, as greatly as they thought that he would hate them for their falsehood; neither found they any fairer way of excusing their late revolt, than by accusing and condemning the side which they had forsaken. Wherefore they proclaimed Eumenes a traitor, and condemned him to die; but it was an easier matter to give that sentence, than to put it in execution.

SECT. X.

Quarrels between Eurydice the queen and Python the protector. Python resigns his office, into which Antipater is chosen.

PYTHON and Aridæus being chosen protectors of king

Aridæus and the children of Alexander, took the way to Asia the Less, conducting the army through Syria. Of these two Python was the greater in reputation, yet far too weak to sustain so important a charge. For Eurydice, wife to king Aridæus, was come to her husband, a lady of a masculine spirit, well understanding what she was or should be, and thinking herself able to support the weight which fortune had laid upon her foolish husband, being due to her own title. Her mother Cyna, sister to Alexander by her father king Philip, was married (as hath been shewed) to Amyntas, who was right heir to the kingdom of Macedon, being the only son of king Perdiccas, Philip's elder brother.

This Cyna was a warlike woman; she had led armies, and (as a true sister of Alexander) fighting hand to hand with Cæria, queen of the Phrygians, a virago like unto herself, had slain her. She brought up this Eurydice in the same unwomanly art of war, who now among the soldiers began to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the small contentment of Python, that could not brook her curious intermeddling in his charge. Whether it were so that Python had some purpose to advance the son of Alexander by Roxana to the kingdom, (as once he had sought to do,) or whether the queen did suspect him of some such intent; or whether only desire of rule caused her to quarrel with him; quarrel she did, which disturbed the proceeding against Eumenes. The army having shaken off such a rank rider as Perdiccas, would not afterward be reined with a twined thread. Python, bearing himself upon his office, took upon him to give directions in the king's name, which the queen did oftentimes control, using the same name, with more authority, and better liking of the soldiers. Python, seeing this, would needs resign his office; whether upon weariness of the contentions daily growing, or on purpose to bring the queen into envy, it is uncertain. Perhaps he thought, that now being the far worthiest man in the camp he should be entreated to retain the place, and have his authority confirmed, or (as might be) increased, were it but for want of a fit successor. Eurydice was no-

thing sorry at this course, for now she thought to manage the affairs of the empire at her own will, being freed from the troublesome assistance of a protector. But the soldiers disappointed both her and Python of their contrary expectations, choosing Antipater, the only powerful man of Alexander's captains then living, into the room of Python. Hereat the queen fretted exceedingly, and began to deal earnestly with the Macedonians, that they should acknowledge no lord, save only the king their sovereign. Yet she failed of her purpose, being hindered (as may seem) by three things; the apparent weakness of her husband; the growth of Alexander's children, who (though born of outlandish women) were bred in the Macedonian camp; and the mightiness of Antipater, who commanding a great army near at hand arrived in few days at the camp, and enforced Eurydice to hold herself content. Antipater was of such power that he needed not to work by any close devices, as Perdiccas had done; he had no concurrents; all the governors of provinces that remained alive acknowledged him their better; yea, many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their rooms. This done, he took the king, queen, and princes along with him into Macedonia, leaving Antigonus general of the royal army: to whom, for his good services done and to be done against Eumenes, he gave the rule of Susiana, besides his former provinces, and committed into his hands the government of Asia during that war.

SECT. XI.

Antigonus, lieutenant of Asia, wins a battle of Eumenes, and besieg-eth him in Nora: he vanquisheth other followers of Perdiccas.

HERE begins the greatness of Antigonus, whose power in few years overgrowing the rest, wanted little of spreading itself over the whole monarchy. He was to make war upon Eumenes, Alcetas the brother, and Attalus the brother-in-law to Perdiccas; work enough to keep his army employed in the public service, till such time as he might find occasion to make use of it in his own business. The first of these which he undertook was Eumenes, with whom

Alcetas and Attalus refused to join, having unseasonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chief place. Eumenes had an army strong in number, courage, and all needful provisions; but obedient only at discretion. Therefore Antigonus tried all ways of corrupting his soldiers, tempting first the whole army with letters: which practice failing by the cunning of Eumenes, (who made show, as if he himself had scattered abroad those letters to try the faith of his men,) he dealt apart with such captains as he thought most easy to be won. Of these captains one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any help was near him, yet looking so carelessly to himself, that he and his were surprised, when he thought his enemies far off. Another follower of Eumenes (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be in company with Antigonus) kept his treachery secret, reserving it for the time of execution. Upon confidence of the treason which this false man Apollonides had undertaken, Antigonus presented battle to Eumenes; in the heat whereof Apollonides, general of the horse to Eumenes, fled over to the contrary side, with such as he could get to follow him; but was closely followed by some, whose company he desired not. Eumenes, perceiving the irrecoverable mischief which this traitorous practice brought upon him, pursued the villain, and cut him off before he could thrust himself into the troops of Antigonus, and boast of his treachery. This was some comfort to Eumenes in the loss of that battle, which disabled him utterly to keep the field, and left it very hard for him to make a safe retreat. Yet one thing he did, which much amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused Antigonus himself to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the victory to get possession of the dead bodies. Eumenes, whilst Antigonus held him in chase, turned out of the way, and fetching a compass, returned to the place where the battle had been fought; there he burned (according to the manner of the time) the bodies of his own men, and interred the bones and ashes of the captains and common soldiers apart, raising up

heaps of earth as mountains over them, and so went his way. As this bold adventure bred in the Macedonians (returned to their camp) great admiration of his brave spirit, so the news which Menander (who was set to look unto their carriages) brought and published among them, enticed them to love him as their honourable friend. He had found Menander in an open plain, careless, as after an assured victory, and loaden with the spoils of many nations, the rewards of their long service, all which he might have taken; but fearing lest such a purchase should prove a heavy burden to him, whose chief hope consisted in swift expedition, he gave secret warning to Menander to fly to the mountains, whilst he detained his men (whom authority could not have restrained) by this sleight, setting them to bait their horses. The Macedonians extolled him for this courtesy, as a noble gentleman that had forborne when it lay in his power to strip them out of all their wealth, and make their children slaves, and to ravish their wives; but Antigonus told them, that he had not forborne to do this out of any good-will to them, but out of mere subtlety had avoided those precious fetters which would have hindered his speedy flight. He told them true. For Eumenes did not only think all carriages to be overburdensome, but the number of his men to be more troublesome than available in his intended course. Wherefore he sent them from him as fast as he could, wishing them to shift for themselves, and retaining only five hundred horse and two hundred foot. When he had wearied Antigonus a while in following him up and down, he came to Nora; where again keeping no more about him than necessity required to make good the place, he lovingly dismissed all the rest. Nora was a little fortress in the borders of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, so strongly situated that it seemed impregnable, and so well victualled and stored with all necessaries, that it might hold out for many years. Thither did Antigonus follow him, with more desire to make him his friend than to vanquish him in war. To this purpose he entertained parley with him, but in vain. For whereas Antigonus offered him

pardon and his love, Eumenes required restitution of his provinces, which could not be granted without Antipater's consent. Then was Nora closed up, where Antigonus leaving sufficient strength for continuance of the siege, took his journey into Pisidia against Alcetas and Attalus, with whom he made short work. He came upon them unexpected, and seized on passages which wanted not men, but such a captain as Eumenes to have defended them. Alcetas and Attalus, as they had been too secure before his coming, so were they too adventurous in fighting at the first sight, upon all disadvantages; and their folly was attended with suitable event. Attalus, with many principal captains, was taken; Alcetas fled to the city of Termesus, where the love of the younger sort was toward him so vehement, that stopping their ears against all persuasions of the ancient men, they needs would hazard their lives and their country in his defence. Yet this availed him nothing. For the governors of the town, having secretly compounded with Antigonus, caused the young men to sally out, and using the time of advantage, they with their servants did set upon Alcetas, who, unable to resist, slew himself. His dead body was conveyed to Antigonus, and by him, barbarously torn, was cast forth without burial. When Antigonus was gone, the young men interred the carcass with solemn funerals, having once been minded to set on fire their own town in revenge of his death. Such favour had he purchased with courteous liberality: but to make an able general, one virtue, how great soever, is insufficient.

SECT. XII.

Ptolomy wins Syria and Phœnicia. The death of Antipater.

WHILST these things were in doing, the rest of the princes lay idle, rather seeking to enjoy their governments for the present, than to confirm or enlarge them. Only Ptolomy looking abroad won all Syria and Phœnicia; an action of great importance, but not remarkable for any circumstance in the managing. He sent a lieutenant thither with an army, who quickly took Laomedon prisoner, that

ruled there by appointment of Antipater, and formerly of Perdiccas; but, as may seem, without any great strength of soldiers, far from assistants, and vainly relying upon the authority which had given him that province, and was now occupied with greater cares than with seeking to maintain him in his office.

Antipater was old and sickly, desirous of rest, and therefore contented to let Antigonus pursue the despatch of those businesses in Asia. He had with him Polysperchon, one of the most ancient of Alexander's captains, that had lately suppressed a dangerous insurrection of the Ætolians, which nation had stirred in the quarrel of Perdiccas, prevailing far at the first, but soon losing all that they had gained whilst Antipater was abroad in his Cilician expedition. In this Polysperchon Antipater did repose great confidence; so far forth, that (suspecting the youth of his own son Cassander of insufficiency in so great a charge) he bequeathed unto him on his deathbed the government of Macedon and Greece, together with his office of protectorship. So Antipater died, being fourscore years old, having always travailed in the great affairs of mighty princes with such reputation, that Alexander in all his greatness was jealous of him, and the successors of Alexander did either quietly give place unto him, or were unfortunate in making oppositions. In his private qualities he was a subtle man, temperate, frugal, and of a philosophical behaviour, not unlearned, as having been scholar to Aristotle, and written some histories. He had been much molested by Olympias, Alexander's mother, whom after the death of her son he compelled to abstain from coming into Macedonia, or intermeddling in matters of estate: yea, at his own death he gave especial direction, that no woman should be permitted to deal in the administration of the empire. But this precept was soon forgotten; and yet, ere long, by sorrowful experience approved to have been sound and good.

SECT. XIII.

Of Polysperchon, who succeeded unto Antipater in the protectorship. The insurrection of Cassander against him.

POLYSPERCHON was very skilful in the art of war, having long time been apprentice in that occupation; other qualities, requisite in so high an office as he underwent, either nature had not given to him, or time had robbed him of them. He managed his business more formally than wisely, as a man of a second wit, fitter to assist than to command in chief. At the first entrance upon the stage he called to council all his friends, wherein, for weighty considerations, (as they who weighed not the contrary reasons held them,) the queen Olympias was revoked out of Epirus into Macedon, that the presence of Alexander's mother might countenance and strengthen their proceedings. For the condition of the times requiring that the governors of provinces abroad should keep greater armies than were needful or easy to be retained about the person of the king in Macedonia, it seemed expedient that the face of the court should be filled with all majesty, that might give authority to the injunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awful regard contain within the bounds of duty such as could not by force have been kept in order, being strong, and lying too far off.

Such care was taken for prevention of imaginary dangers and out of sight, whilst present mischief lay unregarded in their bosoms. Cassander, the son of Antipater, was not able to discover that great sufficiency in Polysperchon for which his father had reposed in him so much confidence; neither could he discern such odds in the quality of himself and Polysperchon as was in their fortune. He was left captain of one thousand; which office, by practice of those times, was of more importance than the title now seems to imply. He should thereby have been as camp-master, or lieutenant-general to the other; a place no way satisfying his ambition, that thought himself the better man. Therefore he began to examine his own power, and compare with the forces likely to oppose him. All that had relied on his

father were his own assured, especially such as commanded the garrisons bestowed in the principal cities of Greece. The like hope was of the magistrates, and others of principal authority in those commonweals, whose forms had been corrected by Antipater, that they would follow the side, and draw in many partakers: it concerned these men in their own particular to adhere unto the captains by whom their faction was upheld; and by whom the rascal multitude, covetous of regaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exercised over the principal citizens, were kept in order, obeying their betters perforce. Besides all these helps, Cassander had the secret love of queen Eurydice, who had in private rendered him such courtesy as was due only to her husband. But neither the queen's favour nor all his other possibilities gave him confidence to break out into open rebellion; because he saw Polysperchon much reverenced among the Macedonians, and strong enough to suppress him before he could have made head. Therefore he made show of following his pleasures in the country, and calling many of his friends about him, under pretence of hunting, advised with them upon the safest course, and most free from all suspicion. The necessity was apparent of raising an army before the business were set on foot; and to do this, opportunity presented him with fair means. Ptolomy had by fine force, without any commission, annexed Syria to his government of Egypt and Cyrene: this was too much either for the king to trust him with, or for him to part with. Antigonus, upon the first news of Antipater's death, began to lay hold upon all that he could get, in such sort, that he manifestly discovered his intent of making himself lord of all Asia. These two therefore stood in need of a civil war; which Cassander well noted, and presumed withal, that the friendship which had passed between his father and them would avail him somewhat. Whereupon he secretly despatched messengers to them both; and within a little while conveyed himself on a sudden over the Hellespont, that he might in person advance the business with greater speed. Much persuasion is needless in winning a

man to what he desireth. Antigonus coveted nothing more than to find Polysperchon work by raising some commotion in Greece. Yet (as formalities must not be neglected) Cassander did very earnestly press him, by the memory of his father, and all requisite conjurations, to assist him in this enterprise; telling him that Ptolomy was ready to declare for them, and urging him to a speedy despatch. Antigonus on the other side repaid him with the same coin; saying, that for his own sake, and his dead father's, whom he had very dearly loved, he would not fail to give him all manner of succour. Having thus feasted one another with words, they were nothing slack in preparing the common means leading to their several ends.

SECT. XIV.

The unworthy courses held by Polysperchon for the keeping down of Cassander.

GREAT necessity there was of timely provision: for Polysperchon needed no other instructions to inform him of Cassander's drift, than the news of his departure. He was not ignorant of the ready disposition which might be found in Antigonus and Ptolomy, to the strengthening of rebellion; and well he knew that one principal hope of Cassander was reposed in the confidence of such as ruled in the Grecian estate. Therefore (loving to work circumspectly) he called another council, wherein it was concluded, that the popular form of government should be erected in all the cities of Greece; the garrisons withdrawn; and that all magistrates and principal men, into whose hands Antipater had committed the supreme authority, should forthwith be either slain or banished. This was a sure way to diminish the number of Cassander's friends, and to raise up many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was disclosed both an unthankful nature in Polysperchon, and a factious malice in his adherents. For how could he be excused of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the son went about to dishonour the father's actions, whose only bounty had enabled him to do it? or what could be said in their defence, who

sought to destroy many worthy men, friends to the state, by whom the Greeks were held restrained from stirring against the Macedonians; and, in opposition to their private enemy, gave the rule of things to base companions, and such as naturally maligned the empire? But as in man's body, through sinews newly issuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next neighbour, than by any distemper in the contrary hand; so in bodies politic, the humours of men, subdivided in faction, are more enraged by the disagreeable qualities of such as curb them in their nearest purposes, than they are exasperated by the general opposition of such as are divided from them in the main trunk. Hereby it comes to pass, that contrary religions are invited to help against neighbour princes, bordering enemies drawn in to take part in civil wars, and ancient hatred called to counsel against injurious friends. Of this fault nature is not guilty; she hath taught the arm to offer itself unto manifest loss in defence of the head; they are depraved affections which render men sensible of their own particular, and forgetful of the more general good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the Greeks were presented with a vain show of liberty, ran under the king's name; but so as one might easily discern that Polysperchon had guided his pen. For the main point was, that they should follow such directions as Polysperchon gave, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the rest, it contained such a deal of kindness, as, proceeding on a sudden from those who had kept them in hard subjection, might well appear to have some other root than the pretended good-will; and was of itself too base and unfit for a king to use toward his conquered subjects and often-subdued rebels.

SECT. XV.

Of the great commotions raised in Athens by Polysperchon's decree. The death of Phocion.

NEVERTHELESS the Athenians with immoderate joy entertained this happy-seeming proclamation, and sought

how to put it in execution without further delay. But Nicanor, captain of the garrison which kept one of their havens called Munychia, in the lower part of the town, would needs take longer time of deliberation than was pleasing to their hasty desires.

Nicanor, as a trusty follower of Cassander, was by him shifted into the place, and Menillus (that was captain there before) discharged, when Antipater was newly dead. His coming to Athens was no way grateful to the citizens, who soon after, hearing the news of Antipater's death, cried out upon Phocion, saying, that he had sufficient intelligence of that accident, and might, by advertising them in due time, have put into their hands a fair opportunity of thrusting out the Macedonians. But these exclamations argued no more than a desire to shake off the Macedonian yoke. Far more grievously would they have been offended, had they known the instructions which Cassander had given to Nicanor, and his resolution to follow them. It was concluded, that he should not only retain Munychia, any injunction to the contrary notwithstanding; but that he should find means to thrust some companies into Piræus, and fortify that also, which was the principal haven, against the high town. How to accomplish this he rather wanted some reasonable pretence than good ability. But the Athenians were not long in giving him sufficient cause to do that, which he would have done without any cause given. They desired him to come unto their council assembled in the Piræus, there to consider of the king's proclamation; whither upon Phocion's word and safe conduct he came, and earnestly pressed them to hold with Cassander in the war which was ready to break forth. Contrariwise they urged him first of all to make them masters of their own, which how to use they might consult afterwards. Each of them refusing to condescend unto the other's demand, the Athenians (who did always measure justice by profit, yet seldom thrived by that course) practised with Dercyllus, a captain following Polysperchon, and then lying near at hand, that he should enter into the town, and take Nicanor prisoner. But Pho-

cion, who then governed in Athens, a man very unlike to the rest of the citizens, being nothing pleased with such a trick of politic dishonesty, did quietly suffer him to depart, and save himself.

Nicanor hereupon began to devise upon taking Piræus; not as following now the project of Cassander, but prosecuting his own just revenge. He levied as many soldiers as he could, and drew them closely into Munychia; which done, he issued into Piræus, took it, and intrenched himself therein; to the exceeding discomfort of the Athenians, who, lately impatient of his keeping the one haven, saw him now master of both. Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, came thither shortly after with an army. Then were the citizens in great hope of recovering all, and addressed themselves unto him; who made fair shows, intending mere mischief, which they perceived not, being blinded with the vain epistles of his father, and of Olympias the old queen. Olympias taking upon her to command, before she durst well adventure to return into Macedon, had peremptorily charged Nicanor to restore to the Athenians the places which he held; but he would first consider more of the matter. Polysperchon had further ordained, that the isle of Samos should be rendered unto them; a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and meaning. He was indeed so far from purposing to let them have Samos, that as yet he did not throughly intend to let them have themselves. The commodity of their havens was such, as he would rather get into his own hands than leave in theirs; yet rather wished in theirs than in Cassander's. His son Alexander, not ignorant of this, made fair show to the Athenians, and spent much labour in communing with Nicanor, but suffered not them, for whom he seemed to labour, to intermeddle with the business. Hereupon the citizens grew jealous, and the displeasure they conceived against him they poured out upon Phocion, depriving him of his office. This was done with much tumult; banished men and strangers thrusting themselves into the assembly of the citizens, who, distracted with sundry passions, growing out of their present misfor-

tunes, thought every one that best could inveigh against things past a most likely man to find some remedy for the evil threatening them. In this hurlyburly was Alexander devising how he might come to some good point of composition with Nicanor, and held much privy conference with him; which he could not so secretly carry but that his negotiation was discovered, whereby the uproar in the town was so far increased, that Phocion with many of his friends were accused, and driven to seek safeguard of their lives by flight. So they came to Alexander, who entertained them gently, and gave them his letters of commendation to his father, desiring him to take them into his protection.

Polysperchon was in the country of Phocis, ready to enter with an army into Attica. Thither came Phocion with his companions, hoping well that the letters which they brought, and their own deserts, (having always been friends to the Macedonians as far as the good of their country gave leave,) should be enough to get patronage to their innocency. Besides all this, Dinarchus, a Corinthian, Polysperchon's familiar friend, went along with them, (in an evil hour,) who promised to himself and them great favour by means of his acquaintance. But Polysperchon was an unstable man, very earnest in what he took in hand, yet, either for want of judgment in following them, or of honesty in holding the best of them, easily changing his intended courses, and doing things by the halves, which made him commonly fail of good success. For fear of Cassander, he had offered wonderful kindness to the Athenians; this had caused them to love him: out of their love he gathered hope of deceiving them, which made him to change his mind, and seek how to get into his own hands those keys with which Cassander held them fast locked up: finding himself disappointed of this purpose, and suspected as a false dishonourable man, he stood wavering between the contrary allurements of profit and reputation. To keep the Athenians perforce at his devotion would indeed have done well; but the effecting of this began to grow desperate; and many towns of importance in Greece began to cast their

eyes upon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore he thought it the wisest way to redeem their good opinion, by giving all contentment unto the popular faction, which then was grown to be master of that city. And in good time for this purpose were the Athenian ambassadors come, treading (as one may say) upon Phocion's heels, whom they were sent to accuse. These had solemn audience given to them in the king's presence, who was attended by many great lords, and for ostentation's sake was glorified with all exterior shows of majesty, yet all too little to change Aridæus into Alexander; for he did nothing there but either laugh or chafe, as he saw others do. For beginning of the business, Polysperchon commanded that Dinarchus should be tortured and slain: this was enough to testify his hearty affection to the commonalty of Athens, in that he spared not his old acquaintance for their sake, whose ambassadors he then bade to speak. When their errand was done, and answer to it made by the accused, who had no indifferent hearing, Phocion and the rest were pronounced guilty of treason; but to give sentence, and do the execution upon them, was (for honour's sake) referred unto the city of Athens, because they were burgesses. Then were they sent away to Athens, where the rascal multitude, not suffering them to speak for themselves, condemned them to die: so they perished being innocent. But the death of Phocion, a man very conspicuous, made the fortune of the rest to be of the less regard. Five and forty times had he been chosen governor of the city, never suing for the place, but sent for when he was absent; so well was his integrity known, and so highly valued, even of such as were no pretenders to the same virtue. He was a good commander in war, wherein though his actions were not very great, yet were they of good importance, and never unfortunate. Never did the city repent of having followed his counsel, nor any private man of having trusted his word. Philip of Macedon highly esteemed him; so, and much more, did Alexander, who (besides other signs of his love) sent him two hundred talents of silver, and offered to bestow upon him of four cities

in Asia any one which he would choose. But Phocion refused these and other gifts, howsoever importunately thrust upon him, resting well contented with his honest poverty; wherein he lived above fourscore years, and then was compelled by the unjust judgment of wicked men to drink that poison, which, by just judgment of the righteous God, so infected the city of Athens, as from that day forwards it never brought forth any worthy man resembling the virtue of their ancients.

SECT. XVI.

Of Polysperchon, his vain expedition against Cassander.

NOT long after these things were done, Cassander, with such forces as Antigonus lent him, entered into Piræus; which news drew Polysperchon headlong into Attica with a great army, but so ill victualled that he was fain to depart without any thing done. Only he had given some impediment to the enemy; who, not contented with defending what he held, began to look out, and make new purchases abroad. Finding therefore himself unable to drive Cassander out of Athens, he left his son Alexander, with such number of men as exceeded not the proportion of victuals, to withstand his further encroaching. The greatest part of his army he carried into Peloponnesus, to make the country sure to himself, wherein Cassander had many friends.

His doings in Peloponnesus were such as they had been in other parts of Greece. First, he began to fight with edicts, restoring the democraty, or popular form of government. He commanded that the principal citizens, that had by Antipater been made rulers, should be either slain or driven into exile. This decree took immediate effect in most places; the vulgar sort being very ready to seal the charter of their freedom and authority with the blood of those who had kept them in subjection. Yet many cities there were which delighted in the rule of the chief citizens, and many which wished well to Cassander; especially they of Megalopolis, on whom Polysperchon meant to inflict an exemplary punishment of disobedience to him, which he termed

rebellion. Megalopolis had in it fifteen thousand serviceable men, well furnished of necessaries, and resolved to endure the worst. And need there was of such resolution; for Polysperchon, coming thither with all his power, did so much, that he overthrew, by a mine, three of their bulwarks, and all the space of wall between them. But the defendants manfully repelled the Macedonians which came up to the breach; and at the same time with great labour they raised up an inner wall, to bear out the next assault. The assailants, having failed to carry the town at the first attempt, took much pain to clear the ground, and make fair way for their elephants, whose violence was likely to overthrow all that came in their way. But the townsmen perceiving their drift prepared boards driven through with long nails, which they used as gall-throps, bestowing them slightly, covered with the points upwards, in the way by which the beasts were to pass. Neither did they set any to encounter them in front, but appointed certain light-armed men to beat upon their sides with arrows and darts, as they were instructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the Asian wars. Of these provisions they made happy use in the next assault; for by them were the elephants (wherein the enemy chiefly trusted) either sorely hurt, or driven back upon the Macedonians, whom they trampled under feet. Polysperchon came as ill furnished for long abode to Megalopolis, as before to Athens. Therefore, being neither able to despatch the business quickly, nor to take such leisure as was requisite, he forsook the siege, with some loss and much dishonour; leaving some part of his army to lie before the town for his credit.

After this, he sent Clitus, his admiral, to sea, to join with Aridæus that was come out of Phrygia, and to cut off all succour which might come to the enemy out of Asia. Cassander also sent his whole fleet under Nicanor, who, taking along with him some ships of Antigonus, came to the Propontis, where he fought with Clitus, and was beaten. But Antigonus, hearing of the overthrow, gathered together the ships that were escaped, and manning them very well, sent

out Nicanor again, assuring him of the victory, as well he might. For he sent out sufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom he caused to be wafted over the straits in small vessels by night; these before daylight setting upon Clitus, drave his men, that lay securely on the land, headlong into their ships; in which tumult Nicanor arriving, did assail them so lustily, that few or none escaped him.

This loss at sea, together with his bad success by land, brought Polysperchon into great contempt. He had a good facility in penning bloody decrees; but when the execution was referred to his own sword, he could find the matter more difficult. Wherefore the Athenians, perceiving that he had left them to shift for themselves, and was not able to give them protection against the enemy which lay in their bosoms, came to agreement with Cassander; accepting a governor of his appointment, and restoring all things to the same state wherein Antipater had left them. The like inclination to the party of Cassander was found in very many cities of Greece, which daily and willingly revolted unto him, as to an industrious man, and likely to prevail in the end. Thus was the whole country set in a combustion uneasy to be quenched; which presented unto Antigonus an opportunity, that he neglected not, of making himself lord of Asia.

SECT. XVII.

Antigonus seeks to make himself an absolute lord; and thereupon treats with Eumenes, who disappointeth him. Phrygia and Lydia won by Antigonus.

ANTIGONUS had, in Antipater's lifetime, a firm resolution to make unto himself the utmost benefit that he might of the army committed to his charge. And in fair season for advancement of his purposes came the news of Antipater's death; even then, when all the business in Pisidia was despatched, and no more employment for the army remaining, save only the continuance of the siege of Nora; a small thing of itself, but as hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was most precious. Eumenes lay in that fort of Nora, able

to make the place good, and hoping that the mutability, to which the present estate was manifestly subject, would in continuance of some years (which he might abide) work more for him, than his enemies in that space could work against him. His most fear was, that for want of exercise in that narrow castle his men and horses might grow sickly and unserviceable; which made him to practise many devices of keeping them in health, and lusty. But when he had continued shut up in this manner about a year, his hopes came to good pass, and he was eased of his cares by Antigonus himself, whose forces held him besieged.

Antigonus, knowing the great sufficiency of Eumenes, and considering his fidelity shewed unto Perdiccas, thought that he could not find in all the world a fitter man than him to employ in managing those high designs, wherein he doubted not that he should be withstood by the mightiest princes of the empire. He sent therefore to Eumenes by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with some part of his intent, and promising to make him a greater lord than ever he had been, and the next man to himself, if things fell out as he desired: in regard whereof he required only his friendship, and thereupon sent him an oath to take; which done, he might at his good pleasure issue safely out of Nora, and enjoy his perfect liberty. Eumenes, perusing the form of the oath, perceived the meaning of Antigonus; which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas, in a few words, it mentioned the king and princes of the blood, rather to keep the decorum, than upon any loyal intent; the binding words, and sum of all the rest, were such as tied him fast only to Antigonus, omitting all reservation of duty to the king, or any other. This he liked not, holding it unseemly to become a sworn man to him with whom he had fought for the mastery, and being assured that his voluntary assistance, which way soever he gave, would be more acceptable, and far more honourable than the course propounded. Yet would he not therefore break off the negotiation, and wait for some better occasion of enlargement, which might perhaps be long in coming;

but seming to be well agreed with Antigonus, he prepared to give up his hold and depart. As for the oath itself, when he came to take it, he made show of dislike, in that it was not solemn enough for such personages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in testifying their allegiance. The Macedonians, which lay encamped before Nora, liked his words, and gave him leave to put in Olympias, and the children of Alexander, binding himself to them and their adherents, as well as to Antigonus; and so he departed.

Antigonus had taken upon him, as soon as he came down to the sea-side, to remove some of the governors of provinces, behaving himself according to the authority which he had received of Antipater to exercise in the time of war. Neither did he want sufficient pretence whereby to justify his proceedings. For if Polysperchon might lawfully hold the protectorship, which the old man doting on his deathbed bequeathed unto him as a legacy, without consent of the princes or soldiers; why might not he himself as well retain the lieutenantship of Asia, that was granted unto him for the general good of the state, in presence of the whole army, by the king, and by Antipater, who had power to ordain what should seem convenient whilst he lived, not to dispose of things that should happen after his death? To give a fair colour to his ambition, this was enough; if any were not herewith satisfied, he had threescore thousand footmen, ten thousand horse, and thirty elephants in a readiness to answer them.

The first that perceived his drift, and provided to resist him, was Aridæus, governor of Phrygia; who fortified the towns of his own province, and sought to have won Cyzicus, a fair haven town, and seated very conveniently for him, but was fain to go away without it. Hereupon Antigonus took occasion to command him out of the country. Aridæus was so far from obeying him, that he sent forces to relieve Eumenes: nevertheless, finding that he was unable of himself to make long resistance, he took such companies as he could draw along with him, and so passed over

into Europe, to complain at the court. The like fortune had Clitus, who ruled in Lydia, and sought the like remedy of his fortune, with some hope at the first, (for both of them were entertained with very good words,) which quickly vanished, and grew desperate, when they were beaten at sea, as hath already been declared.

SECT. XVIII.

Antigonus pursues Eumenes; Eumenes, having authority from the court, raiseth great war against Antigonus in defence of the royal house.

ANTIGONUS having thus gotten into his hands all, or most of Asia the Less, was able to have entered Macedon, and seized upon the court; which that he forbare to do, it proceeded, as may seem, for some of these reasons. It would have bred as much jealousy in Cassander, as fear in Polysperchon, which might have brought them to terms of reconciliation; it would ask more time than he could spare; and the envy which followed the protectorship was such, as he that had power enough without the office ought rather to shun than to pursue. Besides all this, it was manifest that Eumenes would not only refuse to take his part, but would make war upon him in defence of the royal house, to which it was found that Antigonus did not stand well affected. Against him therefore he bent his course, and with an army of twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse made great haste towards Cilicia, hoping to suppress him before he should be able to make head.

Eumenes was one of those few that continued faithful to their dead master, which being well known in the court, he had commission sent unto him from thence to raise an army, and make war upon Antigonus, taking of the king's treasure as much as he should need. Other letters also there were directed to all the governors of provinces, requiring them to give assistance to Eumenes, and be ordered by his direction; especially to the captains of the old soldiers, called the Argyraspides, or silver-shielded bands, commandment was

given to be at his appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thousand foot and five hundred horse, before this authority was given him: but now he purposed, with all the strength which he could make, to fight with Antigonus in defence of the royal blood. Olympias had written to him, desiring him to bring help to her and her nephew, the son of Alexander; and in the mean time to give her his advice in that which Polysperchon required of her; for she was desirous to return into Macedon, but suspected his ambition, as not contained within lawful bounds. Eumenes therefore counselled her to remain in Epirus, till such time as he could bring the war to a good issue; which done, he promised that his faith and care should not be wanting to the seed of Alexander.

Strange it is to consider, that in all the empire scarce any one could be found among the noblemen in whom Alexander's mother, wives, and children, might repose firm confidence, saving only this Eumenes, a stranger to the Macedonian blood, born at Cardia, a city of Thrace. His reputation was no more than his own virtue had made it; his followers obeyed at their own discretion, and compelled he was to travel as far as Persia, to gather together an army sufficient to resist the enemies that pursued his heels.

SECT. XIX.

How the princes of Macedon stood affected mutually. Olympias takes Aridæus and Eurydice, whom she cruelly puts to death.

NOW, forasmuch as in this present war all the rulers of the provinces did intermeddle, and great alterations happened, not only in the parts of Asia, but Macedon itself; which brought a new face unto the state, by the extirpation of the royal house of Philip and Alexander; I hold it convenient in this place, before we enter into the particulars of the war itself, to shew briefly how the great ones did mutually stand affected, and by what passions they were drawn into those courses which overthrew most of them, and out of their ruins built the greatness of a few: as likewise to what ex-

tremity the faction brake out in Macedon itself, about the main controversy of title to the crown, whereupon all other quarrels were or should have been depending.

Aridæus the king, being simple and fearful, did only what he was bidden.

Polysperchon, desirous to continue long in office, had a purpose to advance the son of Alexander by Roxana to the kingdom, and become governor to a king of his own making.

Eurydice the queen, discovering plainly this intent, and meaning nothing less than to let her husband serve as a stale, keeping the throne warm till another were grown old enough to sit in it, grew acquainted with Cassander, who hated the memory of Alexander, and was therefore the fitter for her turn.

Cassander held fresh in mind the danger wherein his family had been through Alexander's malice, together with the indignity offered to himself by Alexander, who knocked his head against a wall, for deriding one that adored him after the Persian manner. The displeasure hereof, and the pleasure which he took in the amorous queen, made him resolve both to suppress the lineage which he hated, and to maintain his beloved mistress, either by supporting her weak husband, or by taking her to be his own wife.

The rest of the lords held it a thing indifferent who reigned over all, so as they might reign in their several countries, and establish their authority in such wise that it might not be taken from them.

Among these, Ptolomy and Antigonus were well enough already, if their ambition would have suffered them to see it.

Pitho and Seleucus lying far off, and being strong, had some good hope to encroach upon their neighbours. Against these, Peucestes and some others, with much ado, hardly made resistance, until such time as Eumenes came to them, who propounded to himself great matters, which he lived not to accomplish.

Olympias the old queen (as it is common with step-

dames) hated the children of her husband by his other wives. It was thought that she had given poison to Aridæus, which, failing to take away his life, had much impaired both his body and wits. Now she considering that Eumenes was too full of business to come home so soon as she wished that he should, and that Cassander daily prevailed in Greece, thought it the best way to join with Polysperchon, and set up as king her nephew Alexander, the son of Roxana, removing Aridæus before Cassander were able to defend him. To this intent she procured men among her kindred in Epirus, and so took her way towards Polysperchon, who joining with her entered into Macedon.

Eurydice hearing these news, wrote very earnestly to Cassander, praying him to set aside all other business, and come to succour her. She herself, by entreaty, gifts, and promises, drew to her party as many of the Macedonians as she could, until she thought her own side strong enough; and then, taking her husband with her, went boldly forth against Olympias and the traitor Polysperchon.

These two queens met armed, as if the matter should have been determined by their own hands, which ended, without any stroke stricken, by the revolt of those who followed Eurydice. For as soon as the Macedonians beheld Olympias, calling to mind her former estate, and the victorious reigns of her husband and son, they refused to lift any weapon against her. Eurydice, finding herself thus forsaken, fled towards Amphipolis, but was intercepted and made prisoner with her husband.

Olympias, having obtained this victory without blood, thought that all things would succeed as easily, and that upon the same considerations for which they had refused to bear arms against her, the Macedonians would not stick to maintain her, whatsoever her proceedings were. Having therefore shut up Aridæus and his wife in a close room, where they could scarce turn round, she fed them through a little hole, till after a while it came in her head (for fear lest the people should have commiseration of him that had reigned almost six years and a half) to put them to death.

So she delivered Aridæus to some barbarous Thracians, who took away his life by cruel torments: to Eurydice she sent a sword, a halter, and a cup of poison, willing her to choose the instrument of her own death, who, praying that the like presents might one day be sent to Olympias, yielded her neck to the halter, having spent her last curses not in vain. Nicanor the brother of Cassander, and a hundred the chief of his friends, did Olympias then choose out, all whom she commanded to be slain. His brother Iolaus, that was already dead and buried, she accused of poison given to Alexander; and thereupon caused his tomb to be thrown down, and his bones to be scattered abroad. The Macedonians, wondering at this fury, began to condemn themselves, and the folly of Polysperchon, who had, quite contrary to Antipater's charge given on his deathbed, called this outrageous woman to the government of the empire.

SECT. XX.

How Cassander was revenged upon Olympias.

§. 1.

The great expedition of Cassander. Olympias shuts herself into Pydna, where Cassander besiegeth her. Æacides, king of Epirus, coming to succour Olympias, is forsaken, and banished by his own subjects.

CASSANDER at that time lay before Tegea, in Peloponnesus, whither, when all these ill tidings were brought to him, he never stayed to take the city, nor to give order for the state of things in that country, (though Alexander the son of Polysperchon were there with an army,) but compounding with them of Tegea, he willed his associates to look to themselves as well as they could till his return, and so in all haste he took his journey toward Macedon, carried headlong with the greedy desire of just revenge. The Ætolians had taken the straits of Thermopylæ in favour of the queen and Polysperchon, to hinder his passage; but he, not willing to misspend any time in dealing with them, got together as many ships as he could, great and small, with which he transported his army into Thessaly. There he divided his

companies, appointing some under Callas, a subtle captain, to hold Polysperchon busied, who then lay encamped near to Perbœbia; with the rest he marched directly against Olympias. She, having once prevailed by the respect given to her dignity, took more care now to appear majestical, than to make herself strong. To this end she made a solemn progress to Pydna, a sea-town, and well fenced, having in her company all the flower of the court, especially the great ladies, among whom was Roxana, and her young son Alexander, heir to the great Alexander by his grandmother's designment; who, during his minority, kept the sovereign power in her own hands. But all this pomp served to little use against the violence of the enemy, that soon presented himself before the walls; only it fed the besieged with a vain hope of succour, that would from all parts arrive to rescue persons of their quality. And hereof there soon appeared fair likelihood, which as soon vanished, and went away in smoke.

For Æacides king of Epirus made great haste to bring succour to Olympias, his cousin, with whom Deodamia his daughter was also shut up. Nevertheless, his subjects were nothing forward in this expedition; but finding certain passages taken in the way by Cassander's men, they called upon him to retire, and quit the enterprise. The king's importunity, urging them to proceed, and the obstinate refusal of the army, brake out at length into such terms, that when he had raged in vain against the multitude, his authority, with which he thought to have prevailed upon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to forsake his kingdom, and to wander up and down in foreign countries, a banished man; his people joining with the enemy, against whom he had led them forth to war.

Pydna in the mean time was closed up straitly both by sea and land, so that neither any could issue out of the city, nor any relief be conveyed into it: but it held out as long as any food was left, no memorable service being done there, whilst great actions were managed abroad.

§. 2.

A continuation of Olympias's story. Polysperchon defeated. Extreme famine in Pydna. Olympias yields to Cassander.

NOW, though order of time require it, that we should rehearse the doings of Eumenes and Antigonus in this place, leaving Olympias yet a while to the hour of her destiny, which grows the faster upon her, because she may discern it coming; yet that we may not be compelled to interrupt the course of our narration, by inserting her tragedy in the midst of things not manifestly coherent with it, we will here (as elsewhere we have done, and elsewhere must) continue to an end one history, that we may not be therewith distracted when we shall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the besieged, remaining in Polysperchon, was in like manner disappointed as their former trust had been, which was reposed in the succours of the Epirot. For Callas, who was sent against him, found the means to corrupt the greatest part of his army with money, leaving him within a little while so slenderly accompanied, that he was fit for no other business of war than a swift retreat. When famine had so far prevailed in the city that the horses were killed as a precious food, many men feeding on the dead carcasses of their fellows, and sawdust being given to the elephants for provender, some of the soldiers, obtaining the queen's leave, (who could not deny it,) others, without asking leave, yielded themselves to the enemy, and were by him gently relieved, and sent abroad into the country. The news of the queen's affairs, dispersed by these men, did so affright her well-willers, that such as had reserved themselves to the event, came in apace, and submitted them to Cassander. At length, when the mortality was so great in the town, that the living were even poisoned with the noisome scent of the dead, Olympias bethought herself of stealing away by sea in a galley that she had; wherein her success was as bad as in the rest. For God had appointed this town, by her chosen as a place of refuge, to be unto her as a house of torment, and a gaol, out of which she should not be delivered,

but unto an evil death. Being therefore utterly broken with miseries, which daily afflicted her and the other ladies, unaccustomed to so wretched a kind of life, she offered composition; and with much labour hardly obtained of Cassander (who, having fetched her galley out of the haven, accounted himself as good as master of her body) a grant of her own life. Immediately upon her apprehension, Pella, the chief city of the kingdom, was yielded to Cassander. Amphipolis did stand out; for Aristonus, to whom Olympias had given charge of such forces as were left abroad in the country, taking courage from the success of some petty services wherein he had prevailed, began to promise himself great unlikelihoods. But Olympias, to win Cassander's favour, very earnestly required him upon his faith to her, that he should give it up. He did so, and presently after was killed by his private enemies, that were set on by Cassander, who partly hated him upon old respects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to seek innovation.

§. 3.

The death of Olympias, and her condition.

WHEN Olympias had now heard sorrowful tidings of all her friends, she herself was called into question, and accused in an assembly of the Macedonians for the murders (they were so styled in her affliction, which in time of prosperity she called justice) by her committed. There was she (being not heard, nor called to speak) condemned to die. The suit was commenced and prosecuted against her by the kindred of those whom she had slain. But it was at Cassander's instigation; who (to hasten the execution) sent her word that he would furnish her with a ship and other necessaries to save herself by flight: which when she refused, saying that she would plead for herself, and tell her own tale, he dissembled no longer, but sent unto her such men as hated her most, who took away her miserable life. She was daughter and sister unto two kings of Epirus, wife and mother unto two the mightiest kings of that or many

other ages, a stout lady, and of unreprovable chastity; but her ambition was boundless, her hatred unappeasable, and her fury in revenge most unwomanly. Her perverse conditions made her husband seek other wives and concubines, which caused her to hate both him and them. She was thought privy to her husband's death, after which, very cruelly, she slew his late wife Cleopatra, having first murdered one of her two children in her arms, and with a beastly fury broield the other alive in fire in a copper basin. For these things her son Alexander (otherwise loving her well) forbade her to meddle in the government of Macedon. But God, more severe unto cruel tyrants than only to hinder them of their wills, permitted her to live, and fulfil the rest of her wickedness; (which was his justice upon the adulteries of Philip, and the oppression done by him and others;) after all which he rewarded her malice by returning it upon her own head.

§. 4.

Cassander celebrates the funeral of Aridæus and Eurydice, and seeks to make himself king of Macedon.

AFTER her death, Cassander gave honourable burial to Aridæus and Eurydice among their progenitors, kings of Macedon. And looking further into his own possibilities of greatness, he married the lady Thessalonica, whom he had taken at Pydna, being the daughter of king Philip by another of his wives, that by her he might have some title to the crown. For the same end he committed Roxana and her young son to close prison, removing thereby some part of his impediment. And the better to increase his fame, and purchase love, he built a city called by his own name Cassandria, that soon grew to be very great and powerful. He reedified likewise Thebes in Greece, and restored it unto the old inhabitants, after it had lain twenty years waste, being utterly rased by Alexander. By these means, especially by the restoration of Thebes, whereunto all Greece voluntarily contributed, he grew so strong, that few remained enemies unto him, and they with much labour hardly could resist him. Leaving him therefore daily pre-

vailing in Greece, we will return to them who contended in Asia for less titles, but larger provinces, with greater forces.

CHAP. IV.

Of the great lordship which Antigonus got in Asia.

SECT. I.

The journey of Eumenes into Persia. His wise dealing with those that joined with him.

EUMENES, having joined unto his company the Argyraspides, made haste into the eastern parts, to take possession of those countries, according to his commission, and strengthen himself against Antigonus. He took his journey through Cœlesyria and Phœnicia, hoping to reclaim those provinces, usurped with the rest of Syria (as hath been shewed) by Ptolomy, to the king's obedience. But to effect this, his haste of passing forward was too great, his army too little, and the readiness of the people to return to their due obedience none at all. Besides all which impediments, one inconvenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the less effectual. The captains of the Argyraspides were so froward, that they scorned to repair to him and take his directions, and their fidelity was so unsteady, that he might have more easily dealt with open traitors. It was not expedient that he, being general, should weaken his authority by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keep them in order by compulsion. Therefore he feigned that Alexander had appointed unto him in a dream a place for their meeting, namely, in a rich pavilion, wherein an empty throne was placed, as if Alexander himself had been present at their consultations. Thus he freed himself from their vain pride, but of their faith he could have no assurance. Yet when Ptolomy requested them, and Antigonus bribed them to forsake him, they continued (though not without considering of the matter) to take his part. So he marched on, sending before him the king's warrant, which

Pytho and Seleucus refused to obey; not as rejecting the king's authority, but excepting against the person of Eumenes, as a man condemned to die by the Macedonian army for the death of Craterus. Eumenes, knowing well that he was not to rely upon their assistance who stood otherwise affected than his affairs required, and were not to be dealt with by persuasion, sought passage by strong hand through the country of Babylon, in such wise, that Seleucus, having in vain assayed to hinder him by opening the sluices of Euphrates, was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as desirous to be rid of him. Thus he came to Peucestes and the rest of the eastern lords, who were glad of his company, because of the differences between Pytho, Seleucus, and themselves. Yet the contention about superiority grew very hot among them, every one finding matter enough to feed his own humour of self-worthiness. But the former device of assembling in one pavilion made all quiet, the conclusion ever being sure to follow that which Eumenes propounded, who was both wisest in giving advice, and best able to reward, by means of the authority given him to take what he pleased of the king's treasures. By these means he won to himself many of those who had most power to do good or hurt.

SECT. II.

How Antigonus, coming to set upon Eumenes, was driven off with loss.

ANTIGONUS, hearing that Eumenes lay in the province of Susa, had an earnest desire to follow him, and drive him further from the king's treasures, which were kept there. To which end, as soon as he had made himself strong enough, he removed out of Mesopotamia, where he had wintered; and taking to him Pitho and Seleucus, with their men, he marched directly against the enemies, with intent to give them battle. Eumenes had fortified the castle of Susa, and was retired back toward Persia, keeping the river of Tigris between him and his pursuers. The passages of the river were well guarded, and good espial kept upon Antigonus,

to observe which way he took. Before he came to Tigris itself, he was to pass over Coprates, a great river, and not fordable, which he sought to do by small vessels, whereof he had no great store. A great part of his army had gotten over, when Eumenes, who kept a bridge upon Tigris, came with a thousand horse and four thousand foot, to see their demeanour: and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and drave them headlong back into Coprates, wherein most of them were drowned; very few escaping with life, except four thousand, that yielded themselves prisoners in sight of Antigonus, that was not able to relieve them. This loss made Antigonus glad to fall off; and the heat of that country in the dog-days breeding diseases in his army, by which many perished, caused him to remove as far as into Media. So he took Python with him, (leaving Seleucus to besiege the castle of Susa,) and seeking to go the nearest way, passed through savage nations, that continually vexing him with skirmishes, slew great numbers of his men before he could arrive in Media, with his troops that were quite heart-broken.

SECT. III.

Of Eumenes's cunning. A battle between him and Antigonus.

AFTER his departure, Eumenes with his associates fell into consultation about the remainder of their business. Fain he would have had them to enter upon those provinces which Antigonus had left behind him, to which also the captains of the Argyraspides, or silver-shields, were very inclinable, as desiring to draw nearer to Greece. But Peucestes and the rest, whose dominions lay in the high countries, had more care of their own particular estates, and would needs march eastward. These carried it, for the army was not strong enough to divide itself into parts.

When they came into Persia, Peucestes ruling there feasted them royally, and sought by all means to win the soldier's love to himself. Eumenes, perceiving whereunto those doings tended, suffered him a while to keep good cheer, till the time of war drew near. Then did he feign an epistle,

directed as from Orontes governor of Armenia to Peucestes himself; the purport whereof was, that Olympias had vanquished Cassander, and sent over a great army under Polysperchon, to join with Eumenes. These news, as they filled the camp with vain joy, so they wrought in all men's minds a great willingness to obey Eumenes, by whom was the likeliest appearance of their preferment; wherein they dealt wisely, he being far the most sufficient commander, as they found soon after. For when Antigonus, coming out of Media, drew near unto them, Eumenes by some mischance was fallen sick, and fain to be carried in a litter; the army marched in very bad array, and was likely to have been forced to take battle in that disorder. But Eumenes, when the rest of the captains were amazed, was carried about the army in his litter, and upon the sudden did cast his men into so good form, that Antigonus, perceiving him afar off, could not refrain from giving him deserved commendations. Yet he did not cease to promise great rewards to the captains, and all sorts of men, if they would forsake Eumenes: which hopes deceiving him, he came to the trial of a battle. Eumenes had more elephants than Antigonus, otherwise he was inferior in number both of horse and foot by a third part. The battle was fought with variable success, and great loss on both sides, continuing a great part of the day, and of the night following. Yet the victory was uncertain. For Eumenes could not force his men to lie far from their carriages; by which means Antigonus (who had a more absolute command over his) encamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies, which was accounted the sign of victory, for he buried his own, and gave leave to his enemies craving it to do the like. But a greater sign of victory had Eumenes. For he abode still in the same place, and not only buried his men very honourably, at great leisure, but held the country round about; whereas Antigonus was glad (having tarried but one day) to steal away by night, and return into Media, from whence he came.

SECT. IV.

Of divers stratagems practised by Antigonus and Eumenes, one against the other.

THUS did the war continue doubtful, and was protracted to a greater length, each part having stout soldiers and skilful generals; but the side which had hitherto prevailed being hindered, by the equal authority of many, from pursuing all advantages to the best. Antigonus grew daily weaker in men and reputation, so that to repair himself he could find no way safer than to put all to adventure. He knew that his enemies lay in their wintering-places, quartered far asunder, so that if he could suddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great distress. Between him and them the way was not long, being only nine days' journey, but very bad, through a rough dry wilderness, hardly passable. Another way, fairer, and leading through a country well peopled, but requiring twenty-five days' journey, he forsook, partly for the length, partly and chiefly because he would come undiscovered. So therefore taking his journey in the dead of winter, he forbade unto his men the use of fire by night, because he would not have them descried afar off. This commandment had been well observed four or five days, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, and the cold weather pinching them, they were bold to cherish themselves, being near to their way's end. The light of these fires gave notice of their coming, which being reported to Peucestes and other captains, they were so astonished with the sudden danger, that in all haste they betook themselves to flight. But Eumenes, meeting with the news, began to hearten his affrighted companions, promising to make Antigonus march leisurely, and willing them to abide and draw up their men together. They could scarce believe him, yet they were content to be ruled, and did as he appointed, who failed not in making his word good. He took with him some companies of the readiest men, wherewith he occupied certain tops of mountains, looking toward the camp of Antigonus; there he chose a convenient ground to encamp upon, and made great

store of fires in sundry places, as if the whole army had been present. This was a sorrowful spectacle to Antigonus, who thought himself prevented of his purpose, and began to fear, lest he should be compelled to fight, whilst his men were tired with a long and painful journey. Therefore he resolved to turn aside, and take the way to such places as might better serve to refresh his army. This he did with great care and circumspection at the first, as knowing how ready Eumenes would be upon all advantages. But after a while, considering that no enemy stirred about him, he began to pause, and think in himself that somewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he caused some inhabitants of that desert to be taken, and brought before him, of whom he learned, that they had seen no other army than his thereabout, but only a few men that kept fires on the hill-tops. It vexed him exceedingly to find that he had been so deluded. Therefore he went against these troops with great fury, meaning to take sharp vengeance on them for having so deceived him. But by this time sufficient strength was arrived there, which could not be forced without much business and long stay. All the army was come, save only Eudamus, captain of the elephants, who, besides those beasts, had no more than four hundred horsemen in his company. Antigonus hearing of this supply coming to his enemies, sent above two thousand horse, and all his light-armed footmen, to cut it off by the way. Eudamus being fallen into this danger, was fain to place his elephants round about his carriages, and so to defend himself as well as he could; for his horsemen, overlayed with multitudes, were quickly broken, and driven to run away upon the spur. Neither knew they who sat upon the elephants which way to turn them, for on all sides they received wounds, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremity there appeared brave troops of horse and foot, that came unexpected to the rescue, and charging the assailants upon the back, drave them to seek their own safety by speedy flight. These were sent by Eumenes, who, though

he knew not what his adversary meant to do, yet he knew very well what was fittest for him to do; and therefore, playing both games himself, provided the remedy.

SECT. V.

The conspiracy of Peucestes and others against Eumenes's life.

BY these means Eumenes won great honour, and was by the whole army acknowledged a most expert general, and well worthy of the chief command. But Peucestes and the other captains, guilty of their own much insufficiency, were so transported with envy, that they could now no longer contain their vile thoughts, but held communication, as upon a necessary point, how they might find means to murder him.

Surely it is great injustice to impute the mischief contrived against worthy men to their own proud carriage, or some other ill deserving; for though it often happen that small vices do serve to counterpoise great virtues, (the sense of evil being more quick and lasting than of good,) yet he shall bewray a very foolish malice, that, wanting other testimony, will think it a part of wisdom to find good reason of the evils done to virtuous men, which oftentimes have no other cause than their virtue itself. Eumenes, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of singular courtesy, of a very sweet conversation among his friends, and careful by all gentle means to win their love that seemed to bear him any secret ill affection. It was his mere virtue that overthrew him, which even they that sought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that he should not be slain before the battle were fought with Antigonus, wherein they confessed that it stood best with their safety to be governed by his directions. Of this treason he was quickly advertised by Eudamus, to whom he had done many pleasures, and by some others, of whom he used to borrow money when he needed not, to the end that they should be careful of his good, for fear of losing their own. Considering therefore, and discoursing with himself of the villainy intended against him, he made his last will, and

burnt all his writings that contained any matter of secret: which done, he revolved many things in his mind, being doubtful what course were best to follow. All the nobles of the empire stood ill affected to the royal blood, excepting those which were with him, that were more in number than in worth. How things at that time stood in Macedon and Greece, either he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might encourage him to seek their help that needed his. To make his own peace with Antigonus had been against his faith to Olympias and the princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also it may be thought, that he forbare either to lose the battle willingly, or to fly into Cappadocia, and make shift for himself among his old friends. At length he resolved to do his best against the common enemy, and afterwards to look to himself as well as he might.

SECT. VI.

The last battle between Antigonus and Eumenes.

THE soldiers, especially those old bands of the silver-shields, finding Eumenes perplexed, and not knowing the cause, entreated him not to doubt of the victory, but only to bring them into the field, and set them in array; for the rest, they alone would take sufficient order. The like alacrity was generally found in the common soldiers' faces; but the chief commanders were so mischievously bent against him, that they could not endure to think upon being beholden to him for the victory. Yet he ordered the battle so well, that, without their own great fault, they could hardly fail of getting the upper hand.

Before the armies came to joining, a horseman, from the side of Eumenes, proclaimed with a loud voice to the followers of Antigonus, that their wickedness in fighting against their own fathers would now be punished, as it well deserved. This was not spoken in vain: for the silver-shields were men of threescore or seventy years old, strengthened more by continual exercise than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as having passed through greater dangers

than any like to be presented in that fight. Therefore Antigonus's men (who had often been beaten by them, and were now to try their last hope with these resolute warriors, the most ancient and best regarded of all Alexander's soldiers) grew very pensive, and advanced heavily, suspecting their own cause, and fearing that the threatenings uttered would prove true.

Antigonus was now again far the stronger in horse, which gave him cause of great hope, the ground on which they were to fight being a plain levelled field. Placing therefore himself and his son Demetrius in the right wing, and committing the left wing to Python, he did set forward courageously against the enemies, that were ready to give him a sharp entertainment.

Eumenes took unto him Peucestes, with the rest of the lords, and stood in the left wing of his battle, in the face of Antigonus, meaning both to prevent the traitors his companions of all means to make head against him on the sudden, and withal to give proof of his own valour, which perhaps he should no more do, in the face of all his enemies. In the right wing, opposite unto Python, he bestowed the weakest of his horse and elephants, under one Philip, an honest man, and (which was enough at such a time) obedient; commanding him to protract the fight, and make a leisurable retreat, expecting the event of the other side.

So they joined very fiercely; Antigonus labouring to make himself master of all; Eumenes, to die an honourable death, or to win such a victory upon his open enemies as might give him leisure and opportunity to deal with his false friends.

The footmen of Antigonus, being even in their own opinions far inferior to those whom they must encounter, were at the first brunt presently defeated by the silver-shields, who slew above five thousand of them, losing of their own not one man. But in horse Eumenes was so overmatched, that he could not repel Antigonus, who pressed him very hard, but was fain to stand wholly upon defence. Yet his courage wrought so well by example among his followers,

that the enemy could not win one foot of ground upon him, until such time as Peucestes, with one thousand five hundred horse, withdrew himself out of the battle, leaving his companions fighting to defend his back.

Then did Eumenes desperately rush amongst his enemies, labouring to break open the way unto Antigonus himself. And though he failed of his purpose, yet with great slaughter he did so beat upon them which came in his way, that the victory hung a long time in suspense, uncertain which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought being of a slight sandy mould, through the trampling of horses, men, and elephants, did cast up such a cloud of dust as hindered the prospect, so that no man could see what was done a little from him. Antigonus finding this advantage, despatched away some companies of horse, that passed undiscovered beyond Eumenes's battles, and came to his carriages, which lay about half a mile from the place of fight, slenderly guarded, (for that the whole body of the army lay between them and danger,) and therefore easily taken. Had Peucestes retired himself no further than unto the carriages, he might not only have defended them, but peradventure have surprised those which came to surprise them, and so have done as good a piece of service as a better man. But he was gotten somewhat further, to a place where out of danger he might expect the event; and Eumenes was so overlaboured both in body and mind, that he could not give an eye to every place, being not well able to continue where he was.

It happened so, that the elephants meeting together, those of Antigonus had the better hand; whereupon Eumenes, finding himself every way overcharged, began to give back, and withdrew himself and his companies in good order to the other side of the battle, where Philip (as he was directed) had, by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from loss. The Antigonians had felt so much of Eumenes that day, that they were well contented to let him de-

part quietly, and wished not to see him come again; as fain he would have done.

The loss of the carriages was reported unto him, as soon as he had any leisure to hear how things went; whereupon he presently ordered his men for a fresh charge, and sent for Peucestes, that was not far off, requesting him to bring in his men, and renew the fight; whereby he trusted, not only to recover their own goods, but to enrich themselves with the spoils of the enemies. Peucestes not only refused to join with him, but immediately withdrew himself into a safer place, where he might be further from such dangerous temptations.

By this the night grew on; and both armies, wearied with fighting, were desirous to return into their camps. Yet Antigonus conceived hope of doing somewhat more; and therefore taking half his horsemen, he waited upon Eumenes a part of his way homewards, but found no opportunity to offend him: the other half he committed to Python, willing him to set upon the silver-shields in their retreat; which yet he forbare to do, because it appeared too full of danger. So the battle ended; wherein Antigonus had not so much the better in horse, as the worse in foot; but the spoil which he got, by surprising his enemy's carriages, made amends for all his other losses.

SECT. VII.

How Eumenes was betrayed to Antigonus, and slain.

EUMENES, coming into his camp, and finding the silver-shields extremely discontented with their misfortune, began to cheer them up, and put them in hope of recovering all with advantage. For their brave demeanour that day had so crushed the enemy, that he had no power left wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much less able to draw their carts after him, through that great wilderness, over the high mountains.

But these persuasions availed nothing. Peucestes was gone; the other captains would needs return into the high

countries, and the soldiers had no desire either to fly or to fight, but only to recover their goods. Wherefore Teutamus, one of the two captains of the silver-shields, (who had in former times readily consented unto traitorous motions in hope of gain, but was letted by his partner Antigenes,) finding, as he thought, a fit occasion of making himself great, and winning the love of those bands, dealt secretly with Antigonus, requesting him to restore unto those old soldiers their goods, which he had taken, being the only reward of their services in the wars of Philip and Alexander.

Antigonus, as a subtle man, knew very well, that they which requested more than they had reason to expect, would also with a little entreaty perform a great deal more than they promised; and therefore he lovingly entertained the messengers, filling them with hopes of greater matters than they desired, if they would put Eumenes into his hands, by whom they were seduced to make war against him. This answer pleased them so well, that they forthwith devised how to deliver him alive. Wherefore coming about him, as at other times, to do their duty, and pretending more joy of their victory than sorrow of their loss, which they said they would redeem by another fight; in the midst of this goodly talk they leaped upon him, caught hold of his sword, and bound him fast. So they haled him away; and stopping their ears against all persuasions, would not yield so far as to loosen one of his hands, and let him kill himself, but brought him alive, (that was their own general, under whom they had obtained many victories,) as it had been in triumph, into the camp of their enemies.

The press of men, running out of the camp to see him, was so great, that Antigonus was fain to send a guard of horsemen and elephants to keep him from being smothered, whom he could not suddenly resolve either to kill or save. Very few they were that sued for his life; but of these, Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, was one; the rest were desirous to be rid of him quickly; thinking belike, that if he were saved, he would soon be the chief in great reputation, for his great ability. So after long deliberation, Antigonus

concluded that it was the safest way to put him to death; which intending to have done by famine, (perhaps because he would keep it a while in his own power to reverse the sentence, as desiring, if it might be, to have him live his friend,) haste of other business made him do it by the sword.

To this end came all the travails of the worthy general Eumenes; who had with great wisdom, fidelity, and patience, laboured in vain to uphold the family which God had purposed to cast down. He is reckoned among the notable examples of fortune's mutability; but more notable was his government of himself in all her changes. Adversity never lessened his courage, nor prosperity his circumspection. But all his virtue, industry, and wit were cast away in leading an army without full power to keep it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill answered by Gaspar de Coligny, admiral of France, in our days, to one that foretold his death, which ensued soon after in the massacre of Paris, that rather than to lead again an army of voluntaries, he would die a thousand times.

Antigonus himself gave to the body of Eumenes honourable funeral, and rewarded the treason wrought against him with deserved vengeance. One chief captain of the silver-shields he burnt alive; many of the other captains he slew; and to the whole multitude of the silver-shields, that had betrayed so worthy a commander, he appointed a leader, that should carry them into far countries, under pretence of war; but with a privy charge to consume them all, as perjured wretches, letting none of them return alive unto his friends and kindred, or so much as once behold the seas that beat upon the shores of Greece and Macedon.

SECT. VIII.

How Antigonus slew Python, and occupied Media. How he removed governors of provinces, and made himself lord of Persia, carrying away Peucestes.

THE two armies being joined thus in one, were carried into Media, where they spent the rest of the winter; the common soldier idly, the principal men intentively bent

unto the business ensuing. Python began to consider his own deservings, for that the whole war had been chiefly maintained by the strength and riches of his province. Besides, he thought himself as good a man as Antigonus, unless it were in the soldiers' opinion, which he judged easy to be purchased with gifts, and therefore spared not to assay them with great liberality. But in following this course he was driven by necessity to trust many, of whom he stumbled upon some that were unsecret, and others bearing him no sincere affection. Thus was his purpose discovered to Antigonus, who (nothing like to Python) dissembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers, as breeders of dissension between him and his honourable friend, unto whom he meant to commit the government of all those countries: his own business calling him into the Lower Asia. These reports, coming daily to his ears, did finely delude Python. By his greatness with Alexander, his authority in that province where they lay, whereof he was governor, and the love of the soldiers which he had bought with money, he was strong enough to maintain even an offensive war. But what need had he to use the sword, when he was likely without contention to obtain more than his own asking? Therefore he came, as soon as he was sent for, to take his farewell of Antigonus, and to divide the provinces with him, that meant nothing less than to yield to any such division. As soon as he came, he was taken and accused, condemned to die, and slain out of hand. For Antigonus, having begun with Eumenes his ancient friend, was not afterwards restrained, by any consideration of old acquaintance, from cutting down indifferently all that stood in his way, but swam carelessly through the blood wherein at the first he doubtfully waded.

When this business was ended, he appointed a new governor in Media to order the province, and a captain to suppress all commotions; thinking belike, that the power and authority so divided would hardly agree in one against him, from whom both were derived.

After this he marched into Persia, where he was enter-

tained as absolute lord of Asia. There began he to shew how well he understood his own mightiness. For he placed and displaced at his pleasure governors in all provinces, leaving none in office that were not his own creatures, excepting such as lay too far off to be dislodged easily.

Peucestes, who ruled in Persia, thought with good cheer to redeem old offences, but was deceived, having to do with one that could not be taken with such baits; he was carried away, and feasted with goodly words of promise, that never took effect. Thus he, that envied the virtue of his friend, was driven to flatter (in vain) the fortune of his enemy; after which he lived a contemptible life, till he died obscurely, a man forgotten.

SECT. IX.

How Seleucus was chased out of Babylon by Antigonus. The great riches of Antigonus.

SELEUCUS was the next in this visitation; one that had from time to time continued in the same tenor of good will to Antigonus, and now gave proof of his hearty affection toward him by making the captain of the castle of Susa to meet him on the way, rendering unto him that strong piece, and all the treasures therein bestowed. This offer was so great, that Antigonus (though having in his hands the keeper of the place) could hardly believe it, but used him with excessive kindness, for fear so good a mood should change. In that castle he found all the treasures of Alexander, with the jewels of the Persian kings, which, added to his former store of money, made up twenty-five thousand talents. Having all this, he might well account himself a happy man, if riches were sufficient to happiness. But large dominion was the mark at which he aimed, therefore he proceeded with intent to leave no country behind his back that should not acknowledge him for sovereign lord. Coming to Babylon, he was entertained by Seleucus with all possible demonstration of love, and honoured with presents beseeming the majesty of a king. All this he accepted with great gravity, as being due to him, and began to require an account of the revenues of that province. This demand

Seleucus held unreasonable, saying, that it was not needful for him to render unto any man an account of that province, which was given unto him, in respect of his many good services to the state. But whether he spake reason or no, it sufficed, that Antigonus was powerful, who urged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of money, nor any other necessity, moved Antigonus to press him thus, but only the desire to pick matter of quarrel against him, whereof it was likely that he should find such issue as Python and Peucestes had done. Therefore taking with him only fifty horse, he conveyed himself away, and fled into Ptolomy's dominions, desiring him to protect him from the violence of such a man, as went about to oppress all that in former times had been his betters, or at least his equals. Antigonus was glad of his flight; for now all those countries were yielded unto him without battle, whereas to fight with Seleucus for them he wanted all pretence; and to kill him it was not his desire, having received many benefits of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any injuries. Yet it is reported, that the Chaldeans brought a strange prophecy to Antigonus, bidding him look well to himself, and know, that if Seleucus did escape his hands, he should recover Babylon, yea, win all Asia, and kill Antigonus in battle. Easy believers may give credit to this tale. Had it been true, methinks Antigonus rather should have hanged those Chaldeans, for giving him no warning till it was too late, than sent pursuers (as they say that he did) after him, whom the destinies preserved for so great purposes. When he had settled things at Babylon he took his journey into Cilicia, where he wintered. There he took up ten thousand talents more of the king's treasures, and, casting his accounts, found his yearly income to amount unto eleven thousand talents.

CHAP. V.

Of the great civil war between Alexander's captains; and how they assumed the name and state of kings.

SECT. I.

The combination of Ptolomy, Cassander, and others against Antigonus. Their demands, and his answer.

THIS great riches, and the rest of his power, made Antigonus dreaded, envied, and suspected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new war. Ptolomy, Cassander, and Lysimachus had privily combined themselves together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason than of his own accord he seemed like to yield unto. Of their practices he had some notice; the good entertainment given unto Seleucus giving him sufficient cause of mistrust. Therefore he sent ambassadors to them severally, entreating them to continue firm in their love toward him, that would be ready to requite them with the like. The cold answers which they made occasioned his hasty preparation against the most forward of them, which was Ptolomy; it being likely that a good army should prevail more than a fair message. Therefore, as soon as the season of the year would permit, he took the way toward Syria, and was encountered by embassage from them all. These told him, that their lords did much rejoice at his victory obtained against Eumenes their common enemy, and the honour that he had thereby gotten. In which war, forasmuch as they being his confederates must have endured great loss, with hazard of their whole estates, if the contrary faction had prevailed; they held it very just, that all should be partakers in the fruits of that voyage, wherein they had been all adventurers. Wherefore they desired him, that making between them all an equal division of the treasures that were in his hands, (a thing easy to be done,) he would also take some convenient order for enlarging their dominions, according to the rate of his new purchases. This might best be to every one's liking, if he would make

over Cappadocia with Lycia to Cassander, and Phrygia, bordering upon the Hellespont, to Lysimachus; for whereas his own dominions were so much extended eastward by his late victory, he might well spare some of those western provinces to those that were seated in the west. As for Ptolomy, he would not crave any new addition, but rest contented within his own territories. Provided always, that Seleucus, their common friend and partner in the late war, might be restored to his own, out of which he had been driven so injuriously, that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart, requiring amends, with his friendly consent unto their demands, which otherwise they must labour to obtain with armed hands.

Antigonus knew, that after many losses received, he should yet be able to redeem peace whensoever he listed, with these, or perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was he so weak, to give away quietly any part of his strength into the hands of such bad friends, for fear only lest it should be taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that he should be able to find them work more than enough to defend their own. Therefore, he roundly answered the ambassadors, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profit of that victory, which he alone without other men's help had obtained. Though indeed they had already sufficiently gained by him, if they could see it, having by his means kept their governments, whereof they were like to be dispossessed by Polysperchon, and the council of estate in Macedon. But what marvel was it, if they considered not how he had saved them, seeing one of them had forgotten the time, when coming to him as a fugitive, and begging succour, he was by his mere bounty relieved, and enabled to get all that he now held? Cassander did not, said he, in those days command me to surrender provinces, and give him his equal share of my treasures; but (for his father's sake) desired me to pity him, and help him against his enemies; which I did, by lending him an army and fleet, on confidence whereof he now presumes to threaten me. As for Seleucus, how can

he complain of wrong, that durst not stay to plead his right? I did use him well, but his conscience told him that he had deserved ill, else he would not have fled. Let them that so curiously search into my doings consider well their own, which some of them can hardly justify. I am now in the way to Syria, meaning to examine Ptolomy's proceedings; and after him to deal with others, if they continue to provoke me.

SECT. II.

The preparations and beginnings of the wars.

WHEN the ambassadors were dismissed with this answer, nothing was thought upon but war. Antigonus, perceiving that he should be invaded from Europe as soon as he were entered into Syria, left his nephew Ptolomy to guard the sea coasts, and hinder Cassander from landing in Asia, giving him also in charge to drive out of Cappadocia some that were already sent over to molest him. Likewise he despatched messengers into Greece and Cyprus, not unfurnished of money, to draw friends to his side, and raise up troubles to his enemies. Especially he laboured to make himself the strongest by sea; to which purpose he rather hastened than foreslowed his journey into Syria, that he might get possession of mount Libanus, which afforded many excellent commodities for building of a navy. Therefore, having erected beacons, and laid post-horses throughout all Asia, to give swift advertisement of all occurrences, he invaded Syria, that was not held against him by any power sufficient to maintain the field.

Ptolomy lay in Egypt, the strength and heart of his dominion, where he was beloved and honoured of the people as their natural lord: his other provinces he kept with a few garrisons, better serving to contain the people within obedience, than to confront a foreign enemy. So Antigonus took many cities and places of that country, and began to set great numbers of artificers on work in making ships, which was one of his most earnest cares. In these businesses he consumed a year and three months, not idly; for

he took Joppe and Gaza, which were yielded unto his discretion, and well used. The strong city of Tyrus held out long, but was compelled in the end by famine to render itself upon composition, that Ptolomy's soldiers might depart with their arms, which was permitted.

Ptolomy was not asleep whilst these things were in doing, though he kept himself within the bounds of Egypt, as indeed it behoved him to do. His forces were not able to stand against Antigonus in plain field, but likely they were to increase, which made him willing to protract the time. Nevertheless by sea (where his enemy was as yet unready) he sent his fleet into all quarters, whereof Seleucus had the chief command.

Seleucus passed with an hundred sail along the coast of Syria, in the full view of Antigonus and his army, to their no little discomfort. He landed in Cyprus, which was then governed by many petty lords; of whom the greatest adhered to Ptolomy, the rest were, by the factors of Antigonus, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the Egyptian with sharp steel.

The same commodity of aid by sea encouraged the president of Caria (called also Cassander, but not the son of Antipater, howsoever by the painful and learned writer Reinerus Reineccius, he is by some oversight counted for the same) to declare for Ptolomy and his confederates, and busily employ in their quarrel all his forces, which he had hitherto kept in good neutrality, and thereby enjoyed rest; but now he threw himself into dangerous war, choosing rather to undergo trouble at hand than to fall under certain ruin, though somewhat further distant, which would have overwhelmed him, if Antigonus had beaten all the rest.

SECT. III.

How each party sought to win the assistance of Greece. Antigonus's declaration against Cassander. Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, revolteth from Antigonus, who had set him up.

IN the mean season all care possible was taken on both sides to assure unto them the people of Greece, whose aid,

which way soever it inclined, was of great importance. Herein at the first Antigonus sped so well by large effusion of his treasure, that he drew to him the Lacedæmonians, and other Peloponnesians, of whom he waged eight thousand, and caused Polysperchon (who had a good while made hard shifts) to rouse himself again, and taking upon him the title of captain of Peloponnesus, to make head against Cassander.

These hopeful beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the same kind. Wherefore, to make Cassander the more odious, he called together both his own soldiers, and all the Greeks and Macedonians that were to be found thereabouts. To these he declared, that Cassander had very cruelly slain Olympias, mother to the great Alexander; and not herewith contented, had shut up in close prison the poor lady Roxana, Alexander's wife, and his son begotten on her body. That all this proceeded from a desire to make himself king over the Macedonians; which well appeared by his enforcing the lady Thessalonica, daughter to king Philip, a match unfit for a man of no greater parentage than he, to join with him in marriage. That in mere despite of those dead princes, Philip and Alexander, he had planted the Olynthians, rooted out by Philip, in a new city by him built, and called by his own name Cassandria; and had reedified the city of Thebes, which, for the great treason of the inhabitants, was levelled with the ground by the victorious hand of Alexander. For these reasons he required them to make a decree, that Cassander should restore to absolute liberty the lady Roxana, and her son; and should yield obedience to the lord lieutenant general of the empire, (by which name Antigonus himself was understood,) or else should be reputed a traitor, and open enemy to the state. Furthermore he propounded, that all the cities of Greece should be restored into freedom: this he did, not because he was careful of their good, but for the need which he had of their assistance.

These things being decreed, Antigonus was persuaded, that not only the Greeks would adhere unto him, as to their

loving patron, and fall off from Cassander; but that the rulers of provinces, who had hitherto suspected him as a man regardful of nothing but his own benefit, would correct their opinion, and think him the most faithful of all others to the royal blood. But concerning his loyalty to the young prince, the world was too wise to be deceived with vain shows. His undertaking for the liberty of the Greeks was more effectual, and got easy belief, in regard of his present hatred to Cassander. Yet herein also Ptolomy strove to be as earnest as he, making the like decree, in hope to win to himself that valiant nation, which afforded men far more serviceable in war, than were to be found in any province of the empire.

And this indeed was the point at which both sides aimed. Wherein Antigonus, thinking to make all sure, deceived himself, not without great cost. For he gave to Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, five hundred talents, willing him to set the war on foot in Peloponnesus, whereby it might appear, that on his side was meant nothing else, than what was openly pretended.

In Peloponnesus Cassander's men had with much bloodshed grievously afflicted the contrary faction; and he himself perceiving, that they were more easily spoiled as enemies than retained as friends, thought it the best way to make what use he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiving that Alexander came furnished with plenty of gold, wherewith he was able, not only to win the doubtful, but to corrupt such as might seem best assured; he thought it a good part of wisdom, to surrender upon fair conditions that which he could not assure himself to hold any long time by force. Therefore he sent one to deal with Alexander about the matters in controversy; letting him know, that Antigonus was very skilful in setting men together by the ears, not caring who prevailed, but only desiring to have them weary themselves, whilst he was busied elsewhere; that so at length he might find opportunity to set upon the stronger. If therefore Alexander were so wise, as to keep in his purse the five hun-

dred talents which he had, and without stroke stricken to receive the whole lordship of Peloponnesus; it should be freely put into his hands by Cassander; provided, that he should from thenceforth renounce all confederacy made with Antigonus, and enter into a sure and faithful league with Ptolomy, Cassander, and the rest of the confederates. Otherwise he might well persuade himself, that the country which his father could not keep, when he was indeed the lieutenant of the empire, should not in haste be won by him that was only the factor of a proud injurious man, so styling himself, but not acknowledged by others.

Alexander had lived a while with Antigonus since the beginning of these wars; among whose followers it was not hard to discover the intent (which he did not carry very secret) of making himself absolute lord of all. Therefore he was soon entreated to accept so good an offer; and did not stick to enter into that league, whereby he was to become a free lord, and subject unto no man's control.

Howbeit this his honour continued not long, ere he lost both it and his life together by treason of the Sicyonians; who, thinking thereby to have made themselves free, were soon after vanquished in battle by Cratesipolis, Alexander's wife, a discreet and valiant lady. She, in revenge of her husband's death, crucified thirty of the citizens taken in fight; and having by severity taught them obedience, did afterwards contain her army in good order, and governed those places that she held with the love and commendation of her subjects and neighbours.

SECT. IV.

The Ætolians rise against Cassander in favour of Antigonus, and are beaten. A fleet and land-army of Antigonus utterly defeated by Ptolomy's lieutenant. In what terms the war stood at this time. Antigonus draws nearer to Greece.

ANTIGONUS, when he found that with so much money he had only bought an enemy, began to raise troubles to Cassander and his other adversaries in Greece, by stirring up the Ætolians against them; likewise he laboured to win

to his party the islands in the Greek seas, by whose assistance he might be the better able to deal with Ptolomy, that greatly prevailed by reason of his strong fleet. But neither of these attempts had the success which he expected. The Ætolians, a factious nation, and always envying the greatness of their neighbours, were often in commotion, but so, that commonly their gains equalled not their losses. Cassander won some of their own country; fortified the Acarnanians against them, and compelled Glaucias, king of the Illyrians, whom he vanquished in battle, to forsake their side, and bind himself to bear no arms against Cassander's friends.

On the other side, as many petty islands were drawn to join with Antigonus; so the fleet of the Rhodians under Theodatus, who was admiral to Antigonus, passing along the coast of Asia toward Cyprus, with an army under conduct of Perilaus, marching on the shore for mutual assistance, was quite overthrown by Ptolomy's navy. Polyclytus, who in Ptolomy's behalf had been sent into Peloponnesus against Alexander, finding no need of his service in that country because Alexander was come over to their side, returned homewards, and by the way heard of the course which these Antigonians held, whom he very cunningly surprised. He rode with his fleet behind a cape, which the enemy's were to double; his land-forces he placed in ambush, whereinto Perilaus falling was taken prisoner, with many of his men, and many were slain, making little resistance. Theodatus, the admiral, perceiving this, made all haste to help his fellows that were on land; but whilst he with all his fleet were intentive only to that business, Polyclytus appeared at their backs; who as soon as he perceived their disorder, hastened about the cape, and charging them behind suffered not one of them to escape him. These ill tidings caused Antigonus to deal with Ptolomy about some composition. First he sent ambassadors; afterwards they met in person. But Antigonus would not yield unto the demands of Ptolomy; so the parley was vain.

Hitherto each part seemed to have indifferently sped in

the war, and thereby to have equal cause of hope and fear. This late victory, with the good success of his affairs in Cyprus, did seem to make amends to Ptolomy for his losses in Syria. Likewise the revolt of Alexander from Antigonus did equal the confederacy made between the Ætolians and him; as also those petty skirmishes, that had been in Asia the Less to Antigonus's advantage, were sufficiently recompensed by others of like regard, but adverse to him; and by the troubles brought upon his estates in those parts by the two Cassanders.

Contrarywise, Antigonus valued the loss of his men, money, and ships, no otherwise than as the paring of his nails, that were left long enough, and would easily grow again; but the enlargement of his territory by the addition of Syria, he prized at a higher rate, as if thereby he had fed upon a limb of Ptolomy his enemy, and strengthened the body of his own empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto sufficient to counterpoise the bad, he meant to proceed as occasion should direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them that want no money.

That which most molested him was the attempts of his enemies upon Asia the Less; wherein, though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cause to fear, lest the people, being tied unto him by no bond of allegiance, might upon small occasion revolt from him to men of as honourable reputation as he himself. To prevent this, and to be nearer to Greece, he held it expedient for him to be there in person, where his affairs did seem to prosper the worse by reason of his absence. Therefore he left part of his army in Syria, under his son Demetrius, to whom, being then but two and twenty years old, he appointed many ancient captains as assistants, or rather as directors: the rest he carried with him into Phrygia, where he meant to winter.

SECT. V.

How Lysimachus and Cassander vanquished some enemies, raised against them by Antigonus. The good success of Antigonus in Asia and Greece; with the rebellion of many cities against Cassander.

THE coming of Antigonus into those parts wrought a great alteration in the process of his business thereabouts. For his enemies had short leisure to think upon molesting him in Asia; they themselves were held over-hardly to their own work on Europe side. Seuthes, a king of the Thracians, joining with some towns that rebelled against Lysimachus, brought also the bordering Scythians into the quarrel. All these relied upon Antigonus, who was to help them with money and other aid. The Ætolians likewise took courage, and rose against Cassander, having Æacides, lately restored to the kingdom of Epirus, their assistant. But Lysimachus gave unto his rebels no time to confirm themselves. He suddenly presented himself before two of the cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by fear to return to their duty. He fought a battle with the Scythians and wild Thracians, and drove them out of the country. Finally, he overcame Seuthes; and following the heat of his victory slew Pausanias in battle, whom Antigonus had sent over with an army; and all his men he did either put to ransom, or fill up with them his own bands. The like success had Philip, Cassander's lieutenant, against the Ætolians. For he wasted their country, fought with the Epirots, that came to help them; and, after the victory, fought again with their forces joined in one, overthrowing them, and killing Æacides, that unfortunate king. Finally, he drove the Ætolians out of most of their country, and forced them to seek their safety among the wild mountains. Of the Epirots he sent as prisoners to Cassander the principal authors of the king's restitution, and of the present war.

Yet these actions required some time, and wearied Antigonus's adversaries with painful travail; after which they remained only savers. Antigonus himself, at fair leisure,

won all Caria the whilst, and sent armies into Peloponnesus and other parts of Greece, bestowing liberty upon all the cities he took out of Cassander's hands. The whole country of Peloponnesus, (excepting Sicyon and Corinth,) with the isle of Eubœa, and many places of the firm land, were by these means won to be his in true and vehement affection, ready to do or suffer any thing for him, that had made so evident a demonstration of his readiness to give them the liberty indeed, which others promised in idle words. Many states, desirous of the same benefit, would fain have shewed their good-will; but they were kept in by Cassander's garrisons, who was too wise to trust them loose. Therefore Antigonus made show as if he would pass over into Macedon: by which terror he forced Cassander to repair thither in all haste, with the best of his strength, leaving many good towns of Greece so weakly guarded, that well they might take courage to help themselves, if any foreign succour appeared. The aid which they desired was not long wanting. The lieutenants of Antigonus, taking the advantage of Cassander's departure, entered the country; drove his garrisons out of divers cities; forced the governor of Athens to enter into league with their lord; won the citadel of Thebes, and set the people at liberty. This last action was somewhat remarkable. For Thebes had not long before been raised out of her old ruins by the mere power of Cassander; of which act he was accused by Antigonus, as if it had been some heinous crime. Yet now the same Antigonus winneth the city, and the love of the inhabitants, only by expelling him that was their founder. So much are men readier to thank the increaser, than the author of their good; and rather to look forward upon those hopes, which vainly they extend beyond all measure, than backward upon their miserable nullity, that held them uncapable of being any thing.

SECT. VI.

Victories of Ptolomy by sea. A great battle at Gaza, which Ptolomy and Seleucus won against Demetrius, the son of Antigonus.

AS the presence or nearness of Antigonus gave life to his affairs in the Lower Asia and Greece, so the designs of his enemies, taking advantage of his absence, ruined the very foundations of those great works in the eastern parts, wherewith in the year preceding he had overtopped them. The isle of Cyprus, whose princes wavered between contrary affections, inclining one while to Antigonus, another while faintly regarding their covenant with Ptolomy, was visited by an Egyptian fleet, wherewith Ptolomy, in his own person, easily reduced them to a more settled order, putting some to death, carrying others away prisoners, and leaving a lieutenant of his own appointment governor of the whole country. With the same fleet he ran alongst the sea-coasts, wasting a great part of Caria and Cilicia, with the spoils of which he enriched his followers, and returned laden to Cyprus. Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, hearing frequent reports of the miseries wherewith his father's subjects were oppressed, made all haste out of Syria to the rescue, taking only his horse and light-armed foot with him, because the business required expedition. But in vain did he tire himself and his followers in hasty seeking of one, that by launching out into the deep could in a few minutes delude the labour of so many days, if need had so required. Answerable to the vanity of this expedition was the success. For Ptolomy was gone before Demetrius came into Cilicia. Neither was it certain, whether having lightened his ships of their burden in Cyprus, he would return upon those maritime countries, or make toward Syria, where his coming was expected. He was indeed gone into Egypt, and there with Seleucus was describing a royal army, which he levied with all convenient speed for the recovery of Syria. This was more than Demetrius knew. Therefore he was fain to choose out of uncertainties the most likelihood, and return the way that he came, with all his companies, which were fitter for service in the open field, than to be

bestowed in garrisons among the Cilicians. He had scarce refreshed his men and horses in Syria, when the news arrived of Ptolomy's coming with a puissant army to give him battle. Hereupon he called to counsel his principal friends, who advised him to give way to the time, and expect some better opportunity in the future; being a young man, and weakly furnished with the means to resist such ancient and famous generals as Ptolomy and Seleucus. This counsel seemed rather to proceed from the cold temper of those aged men that gave it, than from any necessity growing out of the present business. For Demetrius, considering himself to be the son of Antigonus, and now general of his father's army, thought his own title weighty enough to be laid in balance against the bare names of those two great commanders. Neither found he much reason that should move him to distrust his forces as insufficient. His men were better exercised than the enemies, and promised as much as could be required. Therefore persuading himself that such odds of number and of great fame would rather serve to adorn his victory than hinder him in obtaining it, he resolved to put the matter to trial, without expecting the advantage of more help. So, animating his soldiers with hope of spoil and rewards, he abode the coming of the enemies at Gaza, with purpose to encounter them as soon as they had finished their wearisome journey over the deserts of Arabia.

Ptolomy and Seleucus, issuing out of so rich a province as Egypt, came so well provided of all necessaries, that their army felt not any great grievance of the evil way, when battle was presented them, which confidently they undertook. In all things else they had the odds of Demetrius; of elephants they were utterly unprovided. But how to deal with those beasts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kind of palisado, fastened together with chains, and sharpened in such manner that the elephants could not seek to break upon it, without receiving much hurt. The rest of their forces, which (besides that they had advantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate services by

them performed that year, whilst the enemies had wearied themselves either with vain journeys, or long and dulling expectation, they disposed in such order as best answered to the form wherein Demetrius was embattled. The fight began, and was maintained with equal courage for a long time, each part striving more to win honour than to satisfy any other passion, as having little cause of hatred or revenge. But after some continuance, the greater number holding better out, the error of Demetrius, who upon no necessity would needs fight a battle with disadvantage, began to appear by his losses. He had committed himself to fortune, having more to lose by her than he could get: but in this fight she was idle, and left all to be decided by strong hands; unless it may be said, that the terror brought upon his men by the loss of his elephants was bad luck. Those beasts were in that kind of war hardly to be resisted on plain ground, and therefore at the first they made great spoil amongst Ptolomy's men. Afterward, seeking to break through the palisado, they were sorely hurt, and every one of them taken. This disaster caused the horsemen of Demetrius to faint. They had laboured hard, and prevailed little; till now, perceiving that all must lie upon their hands, who were ill able to make their own places good, they began to shrink, and many of them to provide for their safety by timely flight; which example the rest quickly followed. When Demetrius had stroven so long in vain to make his men abide, that he himself was likely to be lost, he was fain to give place to the stronger, making a violent retreat as far as to Azotus, which was about thirty miles from the place of battle. A great part of his carriages was in Gaza, whither some of his company turned aside, hoping to save such goods as in haste they could pack up. This foolish covetousness was their destruction, and the loss of the town. For whilst they, forgetful of the danger, had filled the streets with sumpter horses, and cloyed up the gates, thronging, some to get in and fetch, others to carry out what they had already loaden, Ptolomy's army brake in without resistance, taking them with their goods and the city all together.

This victory restored unto Ptolomy the best part of Syria, a province more easy in those times to get than to keep, and opened the way unto all the greatness of Seleucus. For between Gaza and Phœnicia no place offered resistance. In Cœlesyria and Phœnicia some towns held out a while, but were soon taken in by Ptolomy. Among these were the great cities of Tyrus and Sidon; of which Sidon was given up by the inhabitants; Tyrus, by the garrison falling to mutiny against their captain; who trusting to the strength of it had made great vaunts, but was pardoned by Ptolomy, and honourably entertained in respect of his fidelity.

SECT. VII.

How Seleucus recovered Babylon, and made himself lord of many countries in the Higher Asia. The era of the kingdom of the Greeks, which began with this dominion of Seleucus.

WHILE Ptolomy followed his business with such prosperity, Seleucus took leave of him, and went up to Babylon to try his own fortune, which he found so favourable, that recovering first his own province, he became at length master of the better part of Alexander's purchases.

This expedition of Seleucus was very strange, and full of unlikelihoods. His train consisted of no more than eight hundred foot and two hundred horse, a number too small to have been placed as garrison in some one of those main great cities, against which he carried it into the Higher Asia. But little force is needful to make way into strong places, for him that already stands possessed of their hearts which dwell within the walls. The name of Seleucus was enough, whom the Babylonians had found so good a governor, that none of them would find courage to resist him, but left that work to Antigonus's own men, wishing them ill to speed. Some of the Macedonians that were in those countries had the like affection, others made a countenance of war, which by easy compulsion they left off, and followed new ensigns. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and submitted themselves joyfully to Seleucus. In a defection so general, it was not a safe course for the Antigonians to

thrust themselves into the towns of most importance; for every man of them should have been troubled with daily enemies in his own lodging. It remained that they should issue forth into the field, and try the matter by fight. But the treason of one principal man, who revolted to the enemy, with more than a thousand soldiers following him, so dismayed the rest, that they did no more than seek to make good one strong place, wherein were kept the hostages and prisoners that Antigonus held for his security in those quarters. This castle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leisure against dangers that were not then apparent. Seleucus quickly took it, and so got the entire possession of Mesopotamia and Babylon.

Antigonus had bestowed in Media and Persia forces convenient for defence of those provinces that were the utmost of his dominion. In the countries about Euphrates he had not done the like, for his own great army lay between them and all enemies. Therefore, when the victory at Gaza had opened unto Seleucus the way into those parts, he found little impediment in the rest of his business. Having now gotten what he sought, it behoved him to seek how he might keep his gettings; for his own forces were too small, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not do for him, his enemies did. Nicanor, to whom Antigonus had committed his army in Media, joining unto himself out of Persia and other countries all needful help, came with ten thousand foot and seven thousand horse, either to save all from being lost, or to drive Seleucus out of that which he had won.

Against this power Seleucus had only four hundred horse, and somewhat above three thousand foot, wherewith to oppose himself; his large conquest of unwarlike nations having yielded him many loving subjects, but few soldiers. Therefore, when his enemies were near to the river of Tigris, he withdrew himself from the place where his resistance was expected into certain marishes not far off, where he lay secretly waiting for some advantage. Nicanor thought that he had been fled, and was the less careful in

fortifying his camp. In recompense of this vain security, his camp was taken by surprise the first night of his arrival, the satrapa, or lieutenant of Persia, together with sundry of the captains, were slain, he himself was driven to flee for his life into the deserts, and the whole army yielded unto Seleucus, whose gentle demeanour after the victory drew all Media, Susiana, and the neighbour provinces, to acknowledge him their lord, without any further stroke stricken.

This victory of Seleucus gave beginning unto the new style, of *the kingdom of the Greeks*, an account much used by the Jews, Chaldeans, Syrians, and other nations in those parts. I will not make any long disputation about the first year of this era. The authority of that great astrologer [c] Ptolomy, from which there is no appeal, makes it plain, that "the five hundred and nineteenth year of Nabonassar "was the fourscore and two year of this account." Other inference hereupon is needless, than that note of the learned [d] Gauricus, "that the first of these years was reckoned com-"plete at Babylon, together with the end of four hundred "thirty and eight years after Nabonassar." With the observation of the Saturn, recorded by Ptolomy, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of Bunting; finding the same planet to have been so placed in the sign of Virgo, as the Chaldeans had observed it, in the same year, which was from Nabonassar the five hundred and nineteenth; from Seleucus the fourscore and two year, and the last of the hundred thirty and seventh Olympiad. These observations of the celestial bodies are the surest marks of time; from which he that wilfully varies is inexcusable. As for such occurrences in history, and the years of succeeding princes, (that are not seldom ambiguous, by reason of unremembered fractions,) if they seem to be here-against, it is not greatly material. Yet thus much is worthy of note, that these years of the Greeks were not reckoned in all countries from one beginning, as plainly appears in the difference of one year, that is found between actions related by the several authors of the two books of the Maccabees, who follow divers ac-

[c] Ptol. Almag. l. 11. c. 7, 8. [d] L. Gauric. in Annot. ad locum citatum.

counts. He that shall adhere to the time defined by Ptolomy may apply the other supputations thereunto, as being no further from it than a year's distance.

SECT. VIII.

How Ptolomy lost all that he had won in Syria. What the causes were of the quiet obedience performed unto the Macedonians, by those that had been subject unto the Persian empire. Of divers petty enterprises, taken in hand by Antigonus and Demetrius, with ill success.

IN a happy hour did Seleucus adventure to go up to Babylon with so few men as his friend could then well spare; for had he stayed longer, upon hope of getting more soldiers, Ptolomy could have spared him none at all, Demetrius the son of Antigonus, having lost the battle at Gaza, received from Ptolomy all his own goods, his pages, and servants, in free gift, and therewithal a courteous message, to this effect: That no personal hatred was the ground of this war, which he and his confederates held with Antigonus, but only terms of honour, wherein they would seek to right themselves after such manner, that other friendly offices, without reference to the quarrel, should not be forgotten.

This noble dealing of Ptolomy did kindle in Demetrius an earnest desire of requiting him with some as brave liberality: which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken troops; drew as many as could be spared out of the garrisons in Cilicia, or other provinces thereabouts; and advertising his father of his misfortune, besought him to send a new supply, wherewith he might redeem his honour lost. Antigonus, upon the first news of this overthrow, had said, that the victory which Ptolomy won upon a beardless boy should be taken from him by bearded men; yet upon desire that his son, whom he tenderly loved, should amend his own reputation, he was content to make a stand in Phrygia. Ptolomy, hearing of Demetrius's preparations, did nevertheless follow his own business in Cœlesyria, thinking it enough to send part of his army under Cilles, his lieutenant, against the remnant

of those that had been already vanquished when their forces were entire. This, peradventure, would have been sufficient, had not Cilles too much undervalued the power of such an enemy. He thought that this young gallant, having lately saved his life by flight, would now be more careful of having a fair way at his back, than adventurous in setting further forward, than urgent reason should provoke him. In this confidence he passed on without all fear; as one that were already master of the field, and should meet with none that would issue out of their places of strength, to make resistance. When Demetrius was informed of this careless march, he took the lightest of his army, and made his journey with such diligence one whole night, that early in the morning he came upon Cilles unexpected, and was on the sudden, without any battle, master of his camp; taking him alive, with his soldiers and their carriages all at once.

This exploit served not only to repair the credit of Demetrius, which his loss at Gaza had almost ruined; but further it enabled him to recompense the bounty of Ptolomy with equal favour, in restoring to him Cilles, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich presents. But neither was Ptolomy so weakened by this loss, nor Demetrius so emboldened by his victory, that any matter of consequence thereupon ensued. For Demetrius feared the coming of Ptolomy, and therefore he fortified himself in places of advantage: Ptolomy on the other side was loath to engage himself in an enterprise, wherein he might perceive, that, if the coming of Antigonus found him entangled, he should either be driven to make a shameful retreat, or a dangerous adventure of his whole estate, in hope of not much more than already he possessed.

Antigonus indeed was nothing slow in his way towards Syria, whither he made all haste; not so much to relieve his son, as to embrace him. For he rejoiced exceedingly that the young man had so well acquitted himself, and being left to his own advice, performed the office of a good commander. Wherefore to increase the reputation of this late victory, he brought such forces as might serve to reconquer

all Syria: meaning, that the honour of all should be referred unto the good foundation laid by his son; whom, from this time forwards, he employed in matters of greatest importance.

Ptolomy had now less reason to encounter with Antigonus, than before his coming to have assailed the camp of Demetrius. Yet he made it a matter of consultation; as if he had dared more than he meant. But all his captains advised him to retire into Egypt, alleging many good arguments to that purpose; which they might well perceive to be agreeable to his own intent, by his propounding that course, not without remembrance of the good success against Perdiccas in the like defensive war, so he departed out of Syria, preserving his honour; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any sudden passion of fear: and he departed at fair leisure, not only carrying his treasures along with him, but staying to dismantle some principal cities that he thought most likely to trouble him in the future. All the country that he left at his back fell presently to Antigonus, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces; so easy was it in those times for the captain of a strong army to make himself lord of a great province.

We may justly wonder that these kingdoms of Syria, Media, Babylon, and many other nations, (which the victory of Alexander had overrun with so hasty a course, as gave him not leisure to take any good view of them,) were so easily held, not only by himself, but by the captains of his army after him. The hot contentions for superiority between the king of Israel and those of Damascus, between Egypt and Babylon, Babylon and Nineveh, the Persians and many countries, argue a more manly temper to have once been in those people, which are now so patient of a foreign yoke, that, like sheep or oxen, they suffer themselves to be distributed, fought for, won, lost, and again recovered, by contentious masters; as if they had no title to their own heads, but were born to follow the fortune of the Macedonians. This will appear the more strange, if we shall consider how the several states of Greece (many of

which had never possessed so large dominion as might cause their spirits to swell beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occasions of liberty; and how these proud conquerors were glad to offer it, desiring to have them rather friends than servants, for fear of further inconvenience.

It must therefore be noted, that most of these countries had always been subject unto the rule of kings, or petty lords; whom the Babylonians and Persians long since had rooted out, and held them in such bondage, that few of them knew any other law than the command of foreign masters. This had utterly taken from them all remembrance of homeborn princes, and incorporated them into the great body of the Persian empire: so that wanting within themselves all sovereign power, or high authority, the life and spirit of every estate, they lay as dead, and were bereaved of motion when that kingdom fell, whereof they lately had been members.

Why the Persian satrapæ, or princes of that empire, did not when Darius was taken from them, as the Macedonian captains after the death of Alexander, strive to lay hold upon those provinces, which had many ages been subject unto them, and scarce four years in quiet possession of their enemies; or why at least they contended not (when the terrible name of that great conqueror did cease to affright them) to get their shares among his followers, if not wholly to dispossess them of their new purchases; it is a question, wherein who is not satisfied may find no less reason to suspect the history, than authority to confirm it. For we seldom read that any small kingdom, prevailing against a far greater, hath made so entire a conquest, in the compass of ten years, as left unto the vanquished no hope of recovery, nor means to rebel; especially when such disorders, or rather utter confusion, hath ensued, by the fury of civil war among the victors.

The cause why the Macedonians held so quietly the Persian empire is well set down by Machiavel, and concerns all other kingdoms that are subject unto the like form of government: the sum whereof is this. Wheresoever the

prince doth hold all his subjects under the condition of slaves, there is the conquest easy, and soon assured: where ancient nobility is had in due regard, there is it hard to win all, and harder to keep that which is won. Examples of this are the Turkish empire and the kingdom of France. If any invader should prevail so far upon Turkey, that the great sultan and his children (for brethren he useth not to suffer alive) were taken or slain; the whole empire would quickly be won, and easily kept, without any danger of rebellion. For the bassas, how great soever they may seem, are mere slaves; neither is there in all that large dominion any one man, whose personal regard could get the people to follow him in such an attempt, wherein hope of private gain should not countervail all apparent matter of fear. Contrariwise, in France, it were not enough for him that would make a conquest, to get into his hands the king and his children; though he further got the better part of the country, and were by far the strongest in the field. For, besides the princes of the royal blood, there are in that kingdom store of great men, who are mighty in their several countries; and having certain royalties and principalities of their own, are able to raise war in all quarters of the realm; whereunto the remembrance of their own ancient families, and long continued nobility, will always stir up and inflame them, so that until every one piece were won, and every one (an endless work) of the chief nobility brought under or destroyed, the victory were not complete, nor well assured. It is true, that such power of the nobility doth oftentimes make way for an invader, to whom the discontentments of a few can easily make a fair entrance. But such assistants are not so easily kept as they are gotten; for they look to be satisfied at full in all their demands; and having what they would, they soon return to their old allegiance, upon condition to keep what they have, unless they be daily hired with new rewards; wherein it is hard to please one man, without offending another as good as himself. The Turk, on the other side, needs not to fear any peril that might arise from the discontented spirits of his principal men.

The greatest mischief that any of them could work against him were the betraying of some frontier town, or the wilful loss of a battle: which done, the traitor hath spent his sting, and must either fly to the enemy, whereby he loseth all that he formerly did hold, or else, in hope of doing some further harm, he must adventure to excuse himself unto his master, who seldom forgives the captain that hath not striven by desperate valour against misfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers against the great sultan, and so joining themselves unto any invader, it is a matter not to be doubted; for none of them have any followers or dependants at all, other than such as are subject unto them by virtue of their offices and commissions. Now as this base condition of the principal men doth leave unto them no means, whereby to oppose themselves against the flourishing estate of their prince; so would it weaken both their power and their courage in giving him assistance, if adversity should make him stand in need of them. For there is scarce any one among the Turk's bassas, or provincial governors, that knows either from whence he was brought or from whom descended, nor any one among them that by the loss and utter ruin of the Turkish empire can lose any foot of his proper inheritance; and it is the proper inheritance of the subject, which is also a kingdom unto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart against the conqueror, who hath no other device painted on his ensign than the picture of slavery.

As is the Turkish empire, so was the Persian, void of liberty in the subjects, and utterly destitute of other nobility, than such as depended upon mere favour of the prince. Some indeed there were of the royal blood, and others, descended from the princes that joined with Darius, the son of Hystaspes, in oppressing the magi: these were men of reputation in Persia; but their reputation consisted only in their pedigree, and their safety in not meddling with affairs of state, which made them little esteemed. In what small account these Persian princes were held, it may appear by this, that the king's uncles, cousin-germans, and brethren,

were called by the kings *their slaves*, and so did style themselves, in speaking unto these great monarchs. That upon every light occasion of displeasure they were handled as slaves, it is easy to be discerned in that example of cruelty practised by Xerxes upon his own brother Masistes, which hath been formerly noted in place more convenient. As for the satrapæ, or governors of the provinces, it is needless to cite examples, proving them to have been mere slaves: it may suffice, that their heads were taken from them at the king's will; that is, at the will of those women and eunuchs, by whom the king was governed.

To this want of nobility in Persia may be added the general want of liberty convenient among the people; a matter no less available, in making easy and sure the conquest of a nation, than is the cause assigned by Machiavel. For as Æsop's ass did not care to run from the enemies, because it was not possible that they should load him with heavier burdens than his master caused him daily to bear; so the nations that endure the worst under their own princes are not greatly fearful of a foreign yoke; nor will be hasty to shake it off, if by experience they find it more light than was that whereunto they had been long accustomed. This was it that made the Gascoigns bear such faithful affection to the kings of England, for that they governed more mildly than the French: this enlarged the Venetian jurisdiction in Lombardy; for the towns that they won, they won out of the hands of tyrannous oppressors: and this did cause the Macedonians, with other nations that had been subject unto the posterity of Alexander's followers, to serve the Romans patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were eased of many burdens which had been imposed upon them by their own kings.

So that of this tameness, which we find in those that had been subjects of the Persian kings, the reasons are apparent. Yet some of these there were, that could not so easily be contained in good order by the Macedonians; for they had not indeed been absolutely conquered by the Persians. Such were the Sogdians, Bactrians, and other nations

about the Caspian sea. Such also were the Arabians bordering upon Syria, against whom Antigonus sent part of his army; thinking therewith to bring them under, or rather to get a rich booty. The captain that he sent fell upon the Nabathæans, at such time as they were busied in a great mart, wherein they traded with the more remote Arabians for myrrh, frankincense, and other such commodities. All, or most of these rich wares, together with five hundred talents of silver, and many prisoners, the Macedonians laid hold upon; for their coming was sudden and unexpected. But ere they could recover Syria the Nabathæans overtook them, and finding them weary with long marches, made such a slaughter, that of four thousand foot and six hundred horse only fifty horse escaped. To revenge this loss, Demetrius was set out with a greater power, yet all in vain; for he was not resisted by any army, but by the natural defence of a vast wilderness, lack of water, and of all things necessary. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them, wherein he lost not much honour; for they craved it, and gave him presents. Returning from the Nabathæans, he viewed the lake Asphaltites, whence he conceived hope of great profit that might be raised by gathering the sulphur. With this good husbandry of his son Antigonus was well pleased, and appointed men to the work; but they were slain by the Arabians, and so that hope vanished.

These petty enterprises, with the ill success accompanying them, had much impaired the good advantage against Ptolomy; when the news of Seleucus's victories in the high countries marred all together. For neither was the loss of those great and wealthy provinces a matter to be neglected; neither was it safe to transport the war into the parts beyond Euphrates, whereby Syria and the Lower Asia should have been exposed to the danger of ill-affected neighbours. A middle course was thought the best; and Demetrius, with fifteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, was sent against Seleucus. These forces being sent away, Antigonus did nothing, and his son did less. For Seleucus was

then in Media; his lieutenants about Babylon withdrew themselves from necessity of fight; some places they fortified and kept; Demetrius could hold nothing that he got, without setting in garrison more men than he could spare; neither did he get much; and therefore was fain to set out the bravery of his expedition by burning and spoiling the country; which he did thereby the more alienate, and, as it were, acknowledge to belong unto his enemy, who thenceforth held it as his own assured.

Antigonus had laid upon his son a peremptory commandment to return unto him at a time prefixed; reasonably thinking, as may seem, that in such an unsettled state of things, either the war might be ended by the fury of the first brunt, or else it would be vain to strive against all difficulties likely to arise, where want of necessaries should frustrate the valour that by length of time was like to become less terrible to the enemy. Demetrius therefore, leaving behind him five thousand foot and a thousand horse, rather to make show of continuing the war, than to effect much, where himself with greater forces could do little more than nothing, forsook the enterprise, and went back to his father.

SECT. IX.

A general peace made and broken. How all the house of Alexander was destroyed.

THESE ambitious heads, having thus wearied themselves with uneffectual travail, in seeking to get more than any one of them could hold, were contented at length to come to an agreement; wherein it was concluded, that each of them should hold quietly that which at the present he had in possession. As no private hatred, but mere desire of empire had moved them to enter into the war; so was it no friendly reconciliation, but only a dulness growing upon the slow advancement of their several hopes, that made them willing to breathe a while, till occasion might better serve to fight again.

Besides that main point, of retaining the provinces which every one held, there were two articles of the peace that

gave a fair, but a false colour to the business; that the son of Alexander by Roxana should be made king, when he came to full age; and, that all the estates of Greece should be set at liberty. The advancement of young Alexander to his father's kingdom seems to have been a matter forcibly extorted from Antigonus; in whom was discovered a purpose to make himself lord of all. But this indeed more nearly touched Cassander. For in his custody was the young prince and his mother: neither did he keep them in sort answerable to their degree; but as close prisoners, taken in that war, wherein they had seen the old queen Olympias taken and murdered, that sought to have put them in possession of the empire. The mutual hatred and fear between them, rooted in these grounds, of injuries done and revenge expected, upon this conclusion of peace, grew up faster than any time before in the heart of Cassander; who saw the Macedonians turn their favourable expectation towards the son of their late renowned king.

All this either little concerned Antigonus, or tended greatly to his good. The young prince must first have possession of Macedon, whereby Cassander should be reduced to his poor office of captain over a thousand men, if not left in worse case. As for them that held provinces abroad, they might either do as they had done under Aridæus, or better, as being better acquainted with their own strength. He in the mean time, by his readiness to acknowledge the true heir, had freed himself from that ill-favoured imputation, of seeking to make himself lord of all that Alexander had gotten.

The like advantage had he in that article, of restoring the Greeks to their liberty. This liberty had hitherto been the subject of much idle discourse, but it never took effect. Antigonus held scarce any town of theirs; Cassander occupied most of the country: which if he should set free, he must be a poor prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrel against him, as against a disturber of the common peace.

In the mean season, the countries lying between Eu-

phrates and the Greek seas, together with a great army, and money enough to entertain a greater, might serve to hold up the credit of Antigonus, and to raise his hopes as high as ever they had been.

With much disadvantage do many men contend against one that is equal to them all in puissance: Cassander's friends had left him in an ill case, but he could not do withal: for where every one man's help is necessary to the war, there may any one make his own peace; but no one can stand out alone, when all the rest are weary. The best was, that he knew all their affections; which tended to no such end as the becoming subjects unto any man, much less to the son of an Asiatic woman, of whom they had long since refused to hear mention. Therefore he took a short course, and caused both the child and his mother to be slain; freeing thereby himself in a trice from the dangerous necessity of yielding up his government, which he must have done when the child had come to age. Roxana was a lady of singular beauty, which was perhaps the cause why Perdiccas desired to have her son, being as yet unborn, proclaimed heir to the great Alexander. Immediately upon the death of Alexander, she had used the favour (if it were not love) of Perdiccas to the satisfying of her own bloody malice upon Statira, the daughter of king Darius; whom Alexander had likewise married, according to the custom of those countries, wherein plurality of wives is held no crime. For having by a counterfeit letter, in Alexander's name, gotten this poor lady into her hands, she did, by assistance of Perdiccas, murder her and her sister, and threw their bodies into a well, causing it to be filled up with earth. But now, by God's just vengeance, were she and her son made away in the like secret fashion; even at such time as the near approaching hope of a great empire had made her life, after a wearisome imprisonment, grow dearer unto her than it was before.

The fact of Cassander was not so much detested in outward show, as inwardly it was pleasing unto all the rest of the princes. For now they held themselves free lords of

all that they had under them; fearing none other change of their estates, than such as might arise by chance of war; wherein every one persuaded himself of success, rather better than worse. Hereupon all of them (except Lysimachus and Seleucus, that had work enough at home) began to rouse themselves; as if now the time were come for each man to improve his own stock. Antigonus's lieutenants were busy in Peloponnesus and about Hellespont; while their master was careful in following other, and some greater matters that were more secretly to be handled. He pretended the liberty of Greece; yet did the same argument minister unto Ptolomy matter of quarrel against both him and Cassander. Ptolomy complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that Antigonus had put garrisons into some towns, which ought, in fair dealing, to be set at liberty. Under colour of redressing this enormity, he sent an army into Cilicia; where he won four towns, and soon after lost them, without much labour of his own or his enemies.

After this, putting to sea with a strong fleet, he ran along the coast of Asia, winning many places; and in that voyage allured unto him a nephew of Antigonus, (a good commander, but discontented with the ill requital of his services,) whom finding shortly as false to himself as he had been to his own uncle, he was fain to put to death. But in doing these things, his desire to set the Greeks at liberty appeared not so plain as he wished that it should; for their case was no way bettered by his molesting Antigonus in Asia. Therefore to get the love of that valiant nation, he made at the last an expedition into Greece itself; where having set free some little islands, and landed in Peloponnesus, he raised so great an expectation of finishing the long desired work, that Cratesipolis, the widow of Alexander, Polysperchon's son, gave up into his hands the towns of Sicyon and Corinth.

Ptolomy had conceived a vain belief that the Greeks, emboldened by his countenance and assistance, would all of them take heart, and rise up in arms; whereby with little

labour their liberty might be gotten, and he be acknowledged as author of this immortal benefit. But long servitude had well near extinguished the ancient valour of that nation; and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts to recover freedom, had so tired their spirits, that they would no more stir in pursuit thereof, but sat idly still, as wishing it to fall into their mouths.

The Lacedæmonians about these times began to fortify their town with walls; trusting no longer in their virtue, (for both it and the discipline that upheld it were too much impaired,) that had been a wall to their town and territory.

The Athenians were become as humble servants as they had been in times past insolent masters, erecting as many statues in honour of Demetrius Phalereus as there were days in their year. This Demetrius was now their governor, and he governed them with much moderation; but in spite of their hearts, as being set over them by Cassander. By this base temper of the principal cities, it is easy to gather how the rest of the country stood affected. Ptolomy could not get them to set their helping hands to their own good, and to furnish him with the promised supplies of money and victuals. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliver them from thraldom; as judging the commodity that would arise by annexing them to his party a matter of more weight, than the loss that Cassander should receive thereby, who could hardly retain them, if once Antigonus took the work in hand. But when he found such difficulty in the business, he changed his purpose; and renewing his former friendship with Cassander, he retained Sicyon and Corinth in his own possession.

Before the coming of Ptolomy into Greece, Cassander had been held occupied with very much work. For (besides his pains taken in wars among barbarous princes) he found means to allure unto himself the lieutenants of Antigonus, that were in Peloponnesus and about Hellespont, making his own advantage of their discontentments. By the like skilful practice he freed himself from a greater

danger; and made those murders which he had committed seem the less odious, by teaching his enemies to do the like. Old Polysperchon, that had made so great a stir in the reign of Aridæus, did after the death of Roxana and her child enter again upon the stage, leading in his hand another son of the great Alexander, and meaning to place him in his father's throne.

The name of this young prince was Hercules; he was begotten on Barsine, the daughter of Artabazus, a Persian; but had been less esteemed than the son of Roxana, either for that his mother was held no better than a concubine, or else, perhaps, in regard of the favour which Perdiccas, and after him Olympias, did bear unto Roxana. At this time the death of his brother had moved such compassion, and regard of his being Alexander's only living child had procured unto him such good-will, that the demand which Polysperchon made in his behalf was deemed very just and honourable. There were indeed more hearts than hands that joined with this young prince; yet wanted he not sufficient strength of hands, if the heart of him that least ought, had not been most false. Cassander had raised an army to withstand his entry into Macedon; but little trust could he repose in that army, whose wishes he perceived to be with Hercules. Therefore he assailed Polysperchon himself with gifts and promises; wherewith at length he prevailed so far, that the old villain was contented to murder his pupil, choosing rather, with many curses and foul dishonour, to take the offered lordship of Peloponnesus, and commander of an army, than to purchase a noble fame with dangerous travail, in maintaining his faith unto both his dead and living sovereigns.

Antigonus had not all this while been asleep; though his losses were hitherto the chief witnesses of his having been a stirrer in these commotions. He thought it enough for him at the present to retain his own, and therefore took order for the recovery of those places which Ptolomy had taken pains to win. As for the rest, it no way grieved him to see Cassander incur the general hatred of men, by com-

mitting those murders, of which the profit was like to redound unto him that was the most powerful; or to see Polysperchon or Ptolomy sweat in a busy war against Cassander. If they would have continued their quarrels, he could well have afforded them leisure, and have thought the time well spent in beholding their contentions. For he was throughly persuaded that when the rest had wearied themselves in vain with long strife, his armies and treasures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all under. According to these haughty conceits, he demeaned himself among his followers; looking big upon them, and like a king before his time. This was it that caused so many of them to revolt from him; but it was no great loss to be forsaken by those that looked with envious eyes upon that fortune, whereon their own should have depended. Against this envy of his own men, and the malice of others, Antigonus busily sought a remedy, such as was like to give him a goodly title to the whole empire.

Cleopatra, sister unto the great Alexander, lay for the most part in Sardis; whom he had a great desire to take to wife. This his desire was not without good hope: for howsoever she discovered much unwillingness thereunto, yet was she in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it only for fear of being enforced. But it was not his purpose to get her by compulsive means; either because his fancy, being an old man, was not over-violent; or rather because his ambition, whereunto all his affections had reference, could have made small use of her, by doing such apparent wrong. She had been married unto Alexander, king of Epirus, after whose death she came to her brother in Asia; hoping belike to find a new husband in his camp. But neither any of those brave captains that were in times following so hot in love with her, durst then aspire unto her marriage, nor did her brother, full of other cares, trouble himself with providing her of an husband. She therefore, being a lusty widow, suffered her blood so far to prevail against her honour, that she supplied the want of an husband by entertainment of paramours. Alexander hear-

ing of this, turned it to a jest, saying, that she was his sister, and must be allowed this liberty as her portion of the empire. When by his death the empire lay in a manner void, and the portion due to her therein grew in men's opinion greater than it had been, then did many seek to obtain her, while she herself desired only a proper man, with whom she might lead a merry life. To this purpose did she invite Leonatus unto her; who made great haste, but was cut off by death, ere he came to her presence. Now at the last, after long tarrying, she had her choice of all the great commanders: Antigonus, Ptolomy, Lysimachus, and Cassander being all her earnest wooers. All these (Antigonus excepted) had wives already; Ptolomy had many wives and many concubines, whom he respected as much as his wives, being noted of too much dotage in that kind. This hindered not his suit; peradventure it advanced it, by giving to Cleopatra some hope of mutual toleration. To him therefore she bequeathed herself, and was taking her journey from Sardis towards him, when Antigonus's deputy in that city made her to stay, until his master's further pleasure should be known. Antigonus had now a wolf by the ears; he neither could well hold her, nor durst let her go. She would not be his wife; he had none honest pretence to force her; and to keep her prisoner had been the way by which he might have incurred a general hatred, lasting perhaps beyond her life; as the course taken by Cassander against Roxana (a lady less respected than Alexander's own sister) did well testify. Therefore he thought it the wisest way to procure her death: for to let any other enjoy the commodity of so fair a title to the kingdom, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the governor of Sardis, willing him in any case to do it secretly. So the fact was committed, and certain women about her put in trust with the murder; which women afterwards were put to death, as mischievous conspirers against the life of that good lady. So was Antigonus freed from blame, at the least in his own opinion; but the world was less foolish than to be so deluded. How the murder was detected we

need not ask; for seldom is that bloody crime unrevealed, and never so ill smothered, as when great persons are the authors.

Thus was the whole race of Philip and Alexander the Great extinguished, and it was extinguished by the hands of such as thought upon nothing less than the execution of God's justice, due unto the cruelty of these powerful, but merciless princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by these tyrants upon so wicked foundations of innocent blood, were soon after cast down, overwhelming themselves or their children with the ruins, as the sequel will declare.

SECT. X.

How Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, gave liberty to Athens, expelling the garrisons of Cassander out of those parts. The immoderate honours decreed by the Athenians to Antigonus and Demetrius.

NONE being left alive that had any title to the kingdom, it stood with good reason that they which were lords of the provinces, acknowledging no superior, should freely profess themselves kings in name, as they were already in substance. Yet had this name ill beseemed the weaker, while the strongest of all did forbear it: neither seemed it convenient, in the judgment of Antigonus, to crown his last action with such a title, as if he had attained unto greatness by that foul murder, the infamy whereof he was careful how to discharge from his own head. He purposed therefore to undertake a plausible enterprise, even the liberty of Greece; whereby it was apparent, that he might get such honour as would not only drown all bad reports, but make him be thought equal to any name of royalty, whereof in seeming modesty he was not covetous. To this purpose he delivered a strong army, with a navy of two hundred and fifty sail, and five thousand talents of silver, unto Demetrius's son; willing him to begin at Athens, and thence to proceed in setting all the country free.

Demetrius came to Athens before he was expected: so that without resistance he entered the haven; it being

thought that a fleet of Ptolomy, Cassander's good friend, had been arrived. But when it was known both who he was, and what was the cause of his coming, the joy of the citizens brake out into loud acclamations; Demetrius Phalereus forsook the town, and withdrew himself to Thebes, under safe conduct; only the garrison in Munychia strove to make good that piece, which after a while was won upon them by force. During the siege of Munychia, Demetrius went to Megara; whence he expelled the garrison of Cassander, and so restored the city to liberty.

I think it not impertinent sometimes to relate such accidents as may seem no better than mere trifles; for even by trifles are the qualities of great persons as well disclosed as by their great actions; because in matters of importance they commonly strain themselves to the observance of general commended rules, in lesser things they follow the current of their own natures. The lady Cratesipolis lay in Patras, and had a great desire to see Demetrius; hoping belike that she might by his means better her estate, and recover her towns of Sicyon and Corinth, detained by Ptolomy, to whose lieutenant in those places Demetrius, before his departure out of Greece, offered money for the surrender of them. Yet the only business pretended was love. He being advertised hereof, left his forces in the country of Megara, and taking a company of his lightest-armed for guard of his person, made a long journey to meet with her. This troop also he caused to lodge a great way from his tent, that none might see her when she came. As closely as the business was carried, some of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceived good hope, that the diligence of a very few men might overthrow all the great preparations of Antigonus, and bring him to any terms of reason, by taking his dear son prisoner. Their project fell but a little short of the effect; for they came so suddenly upon him, that he had no better shift than to muffle himself in an old cloke, and creep away disguised, leaving them to ransack his tent. There was in this prince a strange medley of conditions; especially an extreme disso-

luteness in wanton pleasures, and a painful industry in matter of war. He was of a most amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; excellent in devising engines of war, and curious in working them with his own hands. He knew better how to reform his bad fortune, than how to rule his good. For adversity made his valour more active; prosperity stupified him with an overweening, wherein he thought that he might do what he listed. His fortune was as changeable as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her wheel, till she had wound up the thread of his life, in such manner as followeth to be shewed.

Returning to his camp, and finishing his business at Megara, he resolved no longer to attend the issue of a siege, but to assail Munychia by force, that so he might accomplish the liberty of Athens; which, until it was fully wrought out, he refused to enter into the city. Munychia was strongly fortified; yet by continuance of the assault, the multitude without, through help of their engines that scoured the walls, prevailed upon the resolution of those that lay within it, and won the place in two days. The walls, and all the defences of that piece against the city, were levelled with the ground, and so was it freely put into the citizens' hands, to whom withal was given their liberty, with promise to aid them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was louder than of any other victory gotten by Demetrius with greater skill and industry. For the Athenians, having forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make up that defect with their tongues; converting to base flattery that eloquence of theirs, which the virtues of their ancestors had suited unto more manly arguments.

They decreed unto Antigonus and Demetrius the name of *kings*; they consecrated the place in which Demetrius leaped from his chariot, when he entered their city, and built there an altar, calling it of Demetrius *the alighter*; they called them by the names of the *gods their saviours*, ordaining that every year there should be chosen a priest of these gods; and further, that such as were employed by their

state, in dealing with either of these two princes, should not be called ambassadors, but *theori*, or consulters with the gods; like as were they whom they sent unto the oracle of Jupiter or Apollo.

It were a frivolous diligence to rehearse all their flatteries, these being so gross. Hereby they not only corrupted the young prince; but made that acclamation, which best would have pleased the old man, to be of no use. For he could not handsomely take upon him the name of king, as imposed by the Athenians, unless he would seem to approve their vanity in loading him with more than human honours. Yet was he so tickled with this their fine handling him, that when their *theori*, or consulters, came shortly after, desiring him to relieve them with corn, and timber to build ships; he gave them almost a hundred thousand quarters of wheat, and matter sufficient to make a hundred galleys. So gracious was his first oracle; or rather, so weak is great power in resisting the assaults of flattery.

SECT. XI.

The great victory of Demetrius against Ptolomy in Cyprus. How Antigonus and Demetrius took upon them the style of kings; wherein others followed their example.

FROM this glorious work Antigonus called away Demetrius unto a business of greater difficulty, meaning to employ his service against Ptolomy in Cyprus. Before his departure out of Greece, he was willed to establish a general council, that should treat of matters concerning the common good of the country. About the same time Antigonus withdrew his own garrison out of Imbros, committing their liberty entire into the people's hands; whereby it might appear, that as he would not permit any other to oppress the Greeks, so would he be far from doing it himself. This was enough to hold his reputation high among these new purchased friends: it followed, that he should convert his forces to the winning of ground upon his enemies.

A pitiful tragedy had lately happened in Cyprus, through the indiscretion of Menelaus, Ptolomy's brother, and his

lieutenant in that isle. Nicocles, king of Paphos, was entered into some practice with Antigonus, yet not so far that he thought himself past excuse; by which confidence he was perhaps the more easily detected. To cut off this negotiation and the false hearted king of Paphos at one blow, Menelaus was sent thither; who surrounding Nicocles's house with soldiers, required in Ptolomy's name to have him yielded to the death. Nicocles offered to clear himself; but Menelaus told him, that die he must, and bade him come forth quietly. This desperate necessity caused the unhappy king to rid himself of life; and his death struck such an impression into his wife, that she not only slew herself, but persuaded the wives of her husband's brethren to do the like. Also those brethren of Nicocles, unto whom Ptolomy had intended no ill, being amazed with the suddenness of this calamity, did shut up the palace, and setting it on fire consumed it, with all that was in it, and themselves together.

Whatsoever the crime objected was, Nicocles perished as a man innocent, because he was not suffered to make his answer. Of this sad accident, though Menelaus deserved the blame for his rigorous proceeding, yet is it to be thought that much dislike fell also upon Ptolomy; as men that are grieved cast an ill affection even upon those that gave the furthest removed occasion.

Not long after this, Demetrius came into Cyprus, with a power sufficient against any opposition that Ptolomy was like to make. The Cypriots did little or nothing against him, either because they had small strength, or for that they held it a matter indifferent whom they acknowledged as their lord, being sure that they should not themselves have the rule of their own country. Menelaus therefore out of his garrisons drew forth an army, and fought with Demetrius; but he was beaten, and driven to save himself within the walls of Salamis, where he was so hardly besieged, that without strong succour he had no likelihood to make good the place, much less to retain possession of the whole island. His greatest help at the present was the

ity of his soldiers, whom no rewards could win from nor good usage (when any of them were taken prirs, and enrolled in the enemy's bands) keep from returnto him with the first opportunity. Most of them were mercenaries, but all their goods were in Egypt, which was enough to keep them faithful. Yet could not this their resolution have stood long against the odds of number which Demetrius had of men as resolute, and against his terrible engines of battery, if Ptolomy had not hasted to the rescue.

Ptolomy brought with him a hundred and forty galleys, besides two hundred ships of burden, for transporting his army and carriages. This fleet made a terrible show when it was descried afar, though more than half of it was unfit for service in fight at sea. Wherefore, to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadful, Ptolomy sent unto Demetrius a threatening message, willing him to be gone, unless he would be overwhelmed with multitudes, and trampled to death in a throng. But this young gallant repaid him with words of as much bravery, promising to let him escape, upon condition that he should withdraw his garrisons out of Sicyon and Corinth.

Demetrius had no more than one hundred and eighteen galleys, but they were for the most part greater than those of Ptolomy, better stored with weapons fit for that service, and very well furnished with engines in the prows, to beat upon the enemy. Nevertheless he stood in great doubt of threescore galleys that lay in the haven of Salamis, lest Menelaus with them should set upon his back; in which case it was likely that all should go very ill with him. Against this mischief he bestowed ten of his own galleys in the mouth of that haven, to keep Menelaus from issuing forth; and setting his horsemen on the shore to give what assistance they could, he with the rest of his fleet puts to sea against Ptolomy.

The fight began early in the morning, and continued long with doubtful success. The generals were not ranged opposite one to the other, but held each of them the left wing of his own fleet. Each of them prevailed against the squa-

dron wherewith he encountered; but the success of Demetrius was to better purpose. For his victory in one part was such as caused others to fall out of order, and finally drove all to betake themselves unto speedy flight. As for Ptolomy, he was fain to leave his advantage upon the enemy in one part of the fight, that he might relieve and animate those of his own, which needed him in another. Wherein he found his loss over-great to be repaired by contending any longer against the fortune of that day, and therefore he laboured only to save himself, in hope of better event that might follow some other time.

There fell out in this battle no unusual accident, yet was the victory greater than could have been expected. The occasions whereof were, partly, the great skill in sea-services which the Greeks and Phœnicians that were with Demetrius had above those which followed Ptolomy; partly, the good furniture of the ships, wherein consisted no less than in the quality of those with whom they were manned. Further, we may reasonably judge, that the two hundred ships of burden, carrying the strength of Ptolomy's army, did not more encourage his own men and terrify his enemies the day before the fight, than breed in each part the contrary affections, when in the beginning of the fight they fell off, and stood aloof. For though it were fitting that they should do so, yet a multitude, prepossessed with vain conceits, will commonly apprehend very slight occasions to think themselves abandoned. Besides all this, the expectation that Menelaus, issuing with his fleet out of Salamis, should charge the enemies in stern, was utterly frustrate. He was kept in perforce by the ten ships appointed to bar up the mouth of the haven, which they manfully performed, as great necessity required.

Such disappointment of expectation doth much abate the courage of men in fight, especially of the assailants; whereas on the contrary, they that find some part of their fears vain, do easily gather hopeful spirits, and conceive an opinion of their own ability to do more than they had

thought upon, out of their not suffering the harm that they had imagined.

Whatsoever the causes of this victory were, the fruit was very great. For Ptolomy had no more than eight galleys that accompanied him in his flight; all the rest of his fleet was either taken or sunk. Neither did Menelaus any longer strive against the violence of fortune, but yielded up all that he held in Cyprus, together with his army, consisting of twelve thousand foot and a thousand and two hundred horse, and those galleys in the haven of Salamis. The same dejection of spirit was found in the common soldier, as well that was taken at sea, as that had served the Egyptian by land; none of them reposing any more confidence in Ptolomy, but willingly becoming followers of a new lord, whose army they now increased.

It was generally believed that much more depended on the event of this fight than the isle of Cyprus, for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was great, especially Antigonus, whom it most concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking every day a year till he were advertised of the issue. In this mood Aristodemus found him, a notable flatterer, whom Demetrius had honoured with the message of these good news. Aristodemus had bethought himself of a trick, whereby to double the welcome of his joyful errand: he caused his ships to ride at anchor a good distance from the shore; he himself landed in a cockboat, which he sent immediately back to the ship, and so all alone he went forward, looking very sadly, that no part of his tidings might appear in his countenance. Report of his arrival (for it was known where he had been) came presently to Antigonus, who sent messenger after messenger to meet him on the way, and bring speedy word how all went. But neither any answer, nor so much of a look as might intimate the purport of his errand, could be won from this demure gentleman. Thus marched he fair and softly forward, with a great throng at his heels, (that served well to set out his pageant,) until he came in sight of

Antigonus, who could not contain himself, but went down to meet him at the gate, and hear the news. Then did Aristodemus, upon the sudden, with a high voice salute Antigonus by the name of king, uttering the greatness of the victory (with as much pomp as before he had covered it with silence) in the hearing of all the people, who with loud acclamations gave that name of king both to Antigonus and to his son Demetrius. Antigonus, in requital of the long suspense wherein Aristodemus had held him, said that it should also be long ere he received his reward. But the title of king, together with the diadem which his friends did set on his head, he could not wish a fairer occasion to assume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and sent the like to his son.

When it was once noised abroad that Antigonus and Demetrius called themselves kings, it was not long ere their fellows were ready to follow the good example. Ptolomy's friends would by no means endure that their lord should be thought a man dejected for the loss of a fleet, therefore they saluted him also king. Lysimachus in Thrace had boldness enough to put the diadem about his own head. Seleucus had before this time, among the barbarous people, taken upon him as king; but now he used the style indifferently, as well among the Greeks and Macedonians as in dealing with others. Only Cassander held himself contented with his own name; whereby, howsoever he might shadow his pride, he no way lessened the fame of his cruelty against his master's house. But the name which he forbore, his sons after him were bold to usurp, though with ill success, as will appear when they shall enter upon the stage whereon these old tragedians, under new habits, as no longer now the same persons, begin to play their parts, with bigger looks and more boisterous actions, not with greater grace and judgment, than in the scenes already past.

CHAP. VI.

Of the wars between the kings of Egypt, Asia, Macedon, Thrace, and others, until all Alexander's princes were consumed.

SECT. I.

The expedition of Antigonus against Egypt, with ill success.

ALL the rest of these kings had taken that name upon them, in imitation of Antigonus himself, as beseeming his greatness, which was such as gave him hope to swallow them up, together with their new titles. Being not ignorant of his own strength, he resolved to single out Ptolomy, and make him an example to others, who should hardly be able to stand, when the greatest of them was fallen. To this purpose he prepared an army of eighteen thousand foot and eight thousand horse, with fourscore and three elephants; as likewise a fleet of a hundred and fifty galleys, and a hundred ships of burden. The land forces he commanded in person; of the navy Demetrius was admiral.

When all was ready for the journey, the seamen advised him to stay yet eight days longer, and expect the setting of the Pleiades. But his hasty desire to prevent all preparations for resistance that Ptolomy should make rejected this counsel, imputing it rather to their fear than skill. Wherefore he departed from Antigonia (a town which he had built in Syria, and called after his own name, that was soon changed into Seleucia by his mortal enemy) and came to Gaza, where he met with his fleet. The nearer that he drew to Egypt, the more haste he made; thinking by celerity to prevail more than by his great power. He caused his soldiers to carry ten days provision of victuals; and had many camels loaden with all necessaries for passing the deserts, over which he marched with no small toil, though he met with no resistance. At mount Cassius, which is near adjoining to Nilus, he saw his fleet riding at anchor not far from the shore, in ill case, and many ships wanting. It had been sorely beaten with foul weather, wherein some were lost,

others driven back to Gaza, or scattered elsewhere into such creeks as they could recover: Demetrius himself, with the best and strongest vessels, did so long beat it up against the wind, that all his fresh water was spent; in which extremity he and all his must have perished, had not the tempest ceased when it did, and Antigonus appeared in sight, from whom these over-wearied, thirsty, and sea-beaten soldiers received relief: after these painful travails there followed a war no less painful than to little purpose; for Ptolomy had so fortified all the passages upon the river of Nilus, as he assured himself either to end the war there, or if his guards should happen to be forced, yet could it not be done, but so much to the weakening of the assailants, as he should afterward with a second army (which he held entire) entertain the invader upon advantage enough. All that Antigonus sought was to come to blows speedily, Ptolomy, on the contrary, to beat Antigonus by the belly. It is true that Nilus gave him water enough, but wood he had none to warm it, and while Antigonus assaulted the rampires raised upon the river in vain, Ptolomy assayed the faith of his soldiers with good success; for with great gifts, and greater promises, he ferried them over so fast, as had not Antigonus thrust some assured regiments upon the passages next the enemy, and in the mean while taken a resolution to return, Ptolomy had turned him out of Egypt ill attended.

Some of them indeed he laid hands on, in the way of their escape, and those he put to death with extreme torments; but in all likelihood with the same ill success that Perdiccas had formerly done when he invaded Egypt, had he not readily removed his army further off, from the noise of their entertainment that had already been won from him. To prevent therefore as well the present danger of his stay, as the shame following a forced retreat, he secretly practised the advice of his council, upon whom the burden must be laid of his entrance, and leaving Egypt.

It is indeed less prejudicial in such like cases, that errors, dishonours, and losses be laid on counsellors and captains, than on kings, on the directed than on the director, for the

honour and reputation of a prince is far more precious than that of a vassal. Charles the Fifth, as many other princes have done, laid the loss and dishonour he received in the invasion of France, by the way of Provence, to Antonie de Leva, whether justly or no, I know not; but howsoever, all the historians of that time agree, that the sorrow thereof cost that brave captain his life. Certainly, to give any violent advice in doubtful enterprises is rather a testimony of love than of wisdom in the giver; for the ill success is always cast upon the counsel, the good never wants a father, though a false one, to acknowledge it. Yet I have sometime known it, that great commanders, who are for the present in place of kings, have not only been dissuaded, but held in a kind by strong hand from hazarding their own persons, and yet have those kind of mutineers never been called to a marshal's court.

SECT. II.

How the city of Rhodes was besieged by Demetrius.

THIS departure of Antigonus left behind it many dead carcasses, and a great deal of joy in Egypt. Ptolomy held a solemn feast, and sent messengers abroad, loaden with glad news, to Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander, his confederates; strongly encouraging all that side with the report of this his late felicity, though it appeared but in a defensive war. Antigonus on the contrary flattered himself with another interpretation, calling the joys of his enemies for witnesses of his own greatness, seeing they arose but from so little things: his enemies being but bare savers by the last bargain, and himself, as he supposed, having lost but a little time, and no part of his honour in the late retreat. Howsoever it were, yet he meant to follow his affairs henceforth in another fashion; for that which he could not cleave asunder by great blows, he purposed by little and little to pare off, by cutting off the branches first, to fell the tree itself with the more facility. To effect which, he resolved (leaving the great ones to grow a while) to root up the dependants of his enemies; dependants,

whom the forenamed confederates should be forced either to relieve or to lose; and hereby he doubted not to draw them into the field, where the advantage of power, and of all other warlike provisions, promised him victory.

At this time the city of Rhodes was very mighty, being well governed; and having long held itself in good neutrality, it drew the better part of all the trade of those parts, and thereby a great deal of riches to itself; to maintain which, and to increase it, it furnished and kept on the seas a fleet of well-armed ships; by which it not only beat off all pirates and petty thieves, but the reputation of their strength was thereby so much increased, as all the neighbour princes sought their alliance and confederacy.

In this so dangerous a time (in which they must either refuse all that sought them, and so stand friendless and apart, or join themselves to some one, and thereby forego the peace by which their greatness had grown) their affections carried them to the Egyptian, both because the greatest part of their trade lay that way, as also for that Antigonus's disposition, greatness, and neighbourhood was fearful unto them. This affection of theirs, with some other passages, more apparent, gave argument of quarrel to Antigonus, who began to declare himself against them by petty injuries, of taking some of their ships, with such other grievances, while he made a more weighty preparation to pursue the war against them openly and strongly. All things soon after ordered, according to the greatness of the enterprise, he employed his son Demetrius against them in their own island, who brought such terror upon the citizens, that laying aside all respect of friendship and honour, they offered him their assistance and service against whomsoever. Demetrius, who knew from whence this charge came, and that the alteration was persuaded by fear, and not by love, raised his demands to an intolerable height, requiring a hundred hostages to be delivered him, and liberty to lodge in their port as many ships of war as himself pleased; these conditions, more properly to be imposed upon a state already conquered, than on those who

as yet had heard of nothing but a constrained assistance, restored unto the Rhodians their lost courage, and made them resolve to defend their liberty to the last man: this taught them to enfranchise all their able bondmen, and wisely rather to make them their fellow citizens, than to make themselves fellow slaves with them.

Demetrius having refused the fair conditions offered, and the Rhodians the fearful ones propounded them, makes preparation for a long siege; and finding no appearance to carry the place in fury, he set in hand with his engines of battery; in the invention and use of which, he never shewed himself a greater artisan than in this war. But in conclusion, after the citizens had sustained all the assaults given them for a whole year, after many brave sallies out of the town, and the famine which they endured within the town, which had proved far more extreme, if Ptolomy had not with many hazards relieved them, Demetrius, by mediation of the Grecian ambassadors, gave over the siege; a hundred hostages they gave him for performance of the peace made, but with exception of all the magistrates and officers of the city.

Hereunto Demetrius was brought by the usual policy of war and state: for while with the flower of all his father's forces he lay before Rhodes, Cassander recovered many of those places in Greece which Demetrius had formerly taken from him; neither did Cassander make the war as in former times, by practice and surprise, but by a strong and well-compounded army, which he himself led as far as into Attica, and therewith greatly distressed and endangered Athens itself. On the other side (though with less success) did Polysperchon invade Peloponnesus. These dangerous undertakings upon Greece advised the Athenians and Ætolians to despatch their ambassadors towards Demetrius, and advised Demetrius rather to abandon the enterprise of Rhodes, than to abandon the great honour which he had formerly gotten by setting all Greece at liberty.

Demetrius was no sooner out of the island, than that the Rhodians erected statues in honour of Lysimachus and Cas-

sander; but for Ptolomy, whom they most affected, and from whom they received their most relief, they consulted the oracle of Jupiter, whether it were not lawful to call him a god. The priests which attended in the temple of Hammon gave the same fair answer for Ptolomy which they had formerly done for Alexander his master; for as Alexander consulted the oracle with an army at his heels, so was Ptolomy at this time lord of the soil; and yet was this a far more cleanly creation than that done by the Athenians, who deified Antigonus and Demetrius by decree of the people. A mad age it was, when so many of Alexander's captains could not content themselves with the style of kings, but that they would needs be called gods.

SECT. III.

How Demetrius prevailed in Greece; Cassander desires peace of Antigonus, and cannot obtain it. Great preparations of war against Antigonus.

DEMETRIUS, coming with a strong fleet and army into Greece, quickly drove Cassander out of Attica, and, pursuing his fortune, chased him beyond the straits of Thermopylæ. Herein his reputation did much avail him; which was so great, that six thousand of his enemy's soldiers revolted unto him. So, partly by the greatness of his name, partly by force, he recovered in short space all that Cassander held in those straits, and giving liberty unto the people, he bestowed upon the Athenians those pieces which had been fortified against them to block them up. Then went he into Peloponnesus, where he found the like or more easy success; for he suddenly took Argos, Corinth, Sicyon, and the most of the country, bestowing liberty upon such as needed it. The town of Sicyon he translated, by consent of the citizens, from the old seat into another place, and called it after his own name Demetrius. This done, he betook himself to his pleasure: at the Isthmian games he caused himself to be proclaimed captain-general of Greece, as Philip and Alexander had been in former times; whereupon (as if he were now become as great as Alexander) he

despised all others, making it a matter of jest that any, save himself or his father, should usurp the name of king. But in his behaviour he was so far unlike to a king, that in all the time of his leisure he deserved none other name than of a drunken palliard. Yet were the Athenians as ready as ever to devise new honours for him; among which they made one decree, that whatsoever king Demetrius should command ought to be held sacred with the gods and just with men.

All Greece being now at the disposition of Antigonus, Cassander stood in great fear, lest the wars should fall heavily upon him in Macedon, which to avoid he knew no better way than to make peace with his enemy betimes. And to that purpose he sent ambassadors; but had no better answer from Antigonus, than that he should submit his whole estate to his discretion. This proud demand made him look about him, and labour hard in soliciting his friends, both to assist him and take heed to themselves; neither found he them slow in apprehending the common danger, for Lysimachus knew that if once Cassander had lost Macedon, Demetrius would soon be master of Thrace. Neither were Ptolomy and Seleucus ignorant of that which was like to befall them, if Antigonus were suffered to put himself in quiet possession of those provinces in Europe. Wherefore it was agreed, that with joint forces they should all together set upon the common enemy.

Hereof Antigonus had notice; but scorned all their preparations, saying, that he would as easily scatter them, as a flock of birds are driven away with a stone. With these conceits he pleased himself, and no way hindered the proceedings of his enemies. He lay at that time in his town of Antigonia, (a name that it must shortly lose,) where he was carefully providing to set out some stately game and pageants, in ostentation of his glory. But thither was brought unto him the tumultuous news of Lysimachus's victories about Hellespont. For Cassander had committed unto Lysimachus part of his forces, wherewith to pass over into Asia, while himself with the rest should oppose Demetrius

on Europe side. So Lysimachus passing the Hellespont, began to make hot war upon the subjects of Antigonus, getting some of the cities in those parts to join with him by fair means, winning others by force, and wasting the country round about.

To repress this unexpected boldness, Antigonus made hasty journeys, and came soon enough to recover his losses, but not strong enough to drive Lysimachus home, or compel him to come to battle. Lysimachus waited for the coming of Seleucus, keeping himself the whilst from necessity of fighting. But Babylon was far off; and Seleucus's preparations were too great to be soon in a readiness. The winter also did hinder his journey, which enforced them on both sides to rest in some quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrel in open field held all those nations in a great suspense, and bred much expectation. Yet might all have come to nothing, had not Antigonus been so froward, that he refused to yield unto any peaceable conditions. At length Seleucus drew near with a mighty army of his own, (for he had gathered strength in that long time of leisure, which Antigonus had given him,) and with great aid from Ptolomy, that was joined with his forces.

To help in this needful case, Demetrius was called over into Asia by his father's letters, which he readily obeyed. Before his departure out of Greece, he made peace with Cassander upon reasonable terms: to the end he might not be driven to leave any part of his army for defence of the country; and that his journey might be without any such blemish of reputation, as if he had abandoned his dependants; for one article of the peace was, that all the cities of Greece should be at liberty. Cassander was glad to be so rid of an enemy that was too strong for him. Yet would this league have done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwise than they did in Asia, seeing the ratification thereof was referred unto Antigonus. It sufficed that, for the present, every one found means to clear himself of all encumbrances elsewhere, to the end that each might

freely apply himself to the trial of the main controversy in Asia.

SECT. IV.

How Antigonus was slain in a great battle at Ipsus, near unto Ephesus; wherein his whole estate was lost.

SELEUCUS, with his son Antiochus, joining with Lysimachus, compounded a great army, which was (all considered) not inferior to that of the enemy. In greatness of name (that helpeth much in all wars, but especially in the civil) they were rather unanswerable than equal to their adversaries; for Antigonus had of long time kept them under with a mastering spirit, and had been reputed a king indeed, when the rest were held but usurpers of the title. Likewise Demetrius was generally acknowledged a brave commander, having given proof of his worth in many great services of all kinds, and enriched the art of war with many inventions, which even his enemies, and particularly Lysimachus, did much admire. Seleucus, who had sometimes flattered Antigonus, and fearfully stolen away from him to save his life, with young Antiochus, a prince not heard of before this journey; and Lysimachus, that had lived long in a corner, hardly keeping his own from the wild Thracians, wanted much in reputation of that which was yielded to their opposites; yet so, that as ancient captains under Philip and Alexander, two of them were held worthy enough to receive any benefit that fortune might give, and the third a prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The soldiers on both sides were for the most part hardy and well exercised, many of them having served under Alexander; though of those old companies, the long space of two and twenty years had consumed the greatest number. But concerning their affections, the followers of Seleucus were easily persuaded that in this battle they must either get the upper hand, or put in extreme danger all that belonged unto the confederate princes; whereas Antigonus's men could discern no other necessity of fighting than the obstinate quality of their lord, that needs would be

master of all. Antigonus had about threescore and ten thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and threescore and fifteen elephants. His enemies were six thousand short of him in number of their foot; in horse they had the odds of five hundred; of elephants they had four hundred, and a hundred and twenty armed chariots of war; which helps, though they little had availed the Persians, yet were they not to be despised in the hands of a good captain.

Antigonus himself, either troubled with the unexpected greatness of his enemies' forces, or presaging little good like to ensue, grew very pensive, communing much in private with his son, whom he commended to the army as his successor; whereas in former times he had never been so jocund as towards the hour of battle, nor had been accustomed to make his son, or any other, privy to his counsel before it required execution. Other tokens of bad luck, either foregoing the fight, or afterwards devised, I hold it needless to recount; Diana of Ephesus dwelt near to the place of battle, a busy goddess in many great fights, and therefore likely to have been thrust into the fable, if any matter nearly resembling a miracle had chanced.

It is easy to believe that these two so gallant armies, containing well near all the strength of Alexander's whole empire, performed a notable fight, being led by such worthy commanders, and whom the issue thereof did highly concern. Yet are few of the particulars recorded; an easy loss in regard of the much variety wherewith every story aboundeth in this kind. The most memorable things in the battle were these: Demetrius, with his best force of horse, charged valiantly upon young Antiochus, whom when he had broken and put to flight, he was so transported with the heat of his good success, that he never gave over his pursuit, but left his father naked, and lost thereby both him and the victory. For when Seleucus perceived this advantage, he interposed his elephants between Demetrius and the phalanx of Antigonus; and with many troops of horse offering to break upon the enemy's battle, wheresoever it lay most open, he did so terrify the Antigonians,

that a great part of them rather chose to revolt from their lord, whilst they were fairly invited, than to sustain the fury of so dangerous an impression. This cowardice, or rather treason of some, discouraged others, and finally cast them all into flight; exposing their general to the last end of his destinies. Antigonus was then fourscore years old, very fat and unwieldy, so that he was unapt for flight, if his high spirit could have entertained any thought thereof. He had about him some of his most trusty followers, and as many others as he could hold together. When one that perceived a great troop making towards his person, told him, "Sir king, yonder company means to charge you;" he answered, "Well may they; for who defends me? but "anon Demetrius will relieve us." Thus expecting to the very last that his son should come to the rescue, he received so many darts into his body, as took away his lately ambitious, but then fearful hopes, together with his troublesome life.

His great ability in matter of arms, together with his insatiable desire of empire, have sufficiently appeared in the whole volume of his actions. He was more feared by his enemies than loved by his friends, as one that could not moderate his fortune, but used insolence towards all alike, as if it had been some virtue nearest representing a kingly majesty. This was the cause that so many of his followers revolted to his enemies; and finally, that a great part of his army forsook him in his last necessity: for those kings and princes that call all the careful endeavours of their vassals only duty and debt, and are more apt to punish the least offences than to reward the greatest services, shall find themselves upon the first change of fortune, (seeing it is love only that stays by adversity,) not only the most friendless, but even the most contemptible, and despised of all other. This Antigonus found true in part while he lived; in part he left it to be verified upon his son.

SECT. V.

How Demetrius, forsaken by the Athenians after his overthrow, was reconciled to Seleucus and Ptolomy, beginning a new fortune, and shortly entering into new quarrels.

FOR Demetrius, at his return from the idle pursuit of young Antiochus, finding all quite lost, was glad to save himself, with four thousand horse and five thousand foot, by a speedy retreat unto Ephesus, whence he made great haste towards Athens, as to the place that for his sake would suffer any extremity. But whilst he was in the midst of his course thither, the Athenian ambassadors met him with a decree of the people, which was, that none of the kings should be admitted into their city. These were ambassadors, not *theori*, or consulters with the oracle. It was a shameless ingratitude in the Athenians to reward their benefactor, in his misery, with such a decree; neither did any part of his calamity more afflict the unfortunate prince than to see his adversity despised by those whom he had thought his surest friends. Yet was he fain to give good words. For he had left many of his ships in their haven, of which he now stood in great need, and therefore was fain to speak them fair that sometimes had grossly flattered him. But he shall live to teach them their old language, and speak unto them in another tune. When he had gotten his ships he sailed to the Isthmus, where he found nothing but matter of discomfort. His garrisons were everywhere broken up; the soldiers having betaken themselves to his enemies' pay. So that he was king only of a small army and fleet, without money or means wherewith to sustain him and his followers any long time. All the rest, or the greatest part of his father's large dominion, was now in dividing among the conquerors, and those few places which as yet held for him (having not perchance heard the worst of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieve; for to put himself into the field on that side of the sea, he had no power, and to enclose himself in any of them, how strong soever, were but to imprison his fortune and his hopes, or therein indeed to bury himself and his estate. He therefore,

creeping thorough those bushes that had fewest briers, fell upon a corner of Lysimachus's kingdom, whereof he gave all the spoil that was gotten to his soldiers, his own losses having been too great to be repaid again by small prizes.

In the mean while the confederate princes had wherewithal to busy themselves, in the partition of those provinces, of which their late victory had made them lords, wherein Seleucus had a notable advantage by being present and master of the field; for neither Ptolomy nor Cassander were at the overthrow given, having only sent certain troops to reinforce the army which Seleucus led, who took hold of a part of Asia the Less, and all Syria, being no otherwise divided from his own territory than by the river of Euphrates. For there had not any order been taken by the confederates for the division of all those lands; because they did not expect so prosperous an issue of that war, which they made only in their own common defence. It was therefore lawful for Seleucus to make the best benefit that he could of the victory, at which nevertheless others did repine; and though they neither could nor durst accuse him of ill dealing for the present, yet seeing the overgreatness of Seleucus brought no less danger to the rest of the new kings than that of Antigonus had done, they consulted upon the same reason of state as before, how to oppose it in time. Neither was Seleucus ignorant of what they had determined; for he read it in the law universal of kingdoms and states, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forget friendship on all sides, and cure themselves of all unprofitable passion, the hatred of each to other, and their loves being laid on the one side, against their profits on the other, were found so far too light, as Seleucus, who had today slain Antigonus the father, and driven Demetrius the son out of Asia, sought to-morrow how to match himself with Stratonica, Demetrius's daughter, and so by Demetrius to serve his turn against Lysimachus.

The story of this Stratonica, with whom young Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, fell so passionately in love, and so distempered, as Seleucus his father, to save his son's life, gave

her (though she were his wife) unto him, and how his passion was discovered by his pulse, is generally noted by all writers. But neither did this alliance between Seleucus and Demetrius, between Ptolomy and Lysimachus, between Demetrius and Cassander, between Demetrius and Ptolomy, though for the present it brought him again into the rank of kings, otherwise tie any of them to each other than the marriages between Christian kings have done in latter times, namely between the Austrians, the Arragonians, the French, and other princes; neither have the leagues of those elder times been found more faithful than those of the same later times have been, as in the stories of Charles the Eighth of France, and of Charles the emperor, of Francis the First, and of the kings of Naples, dukes of Milan, and others, the reader may observe; between whom, from the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred ninety and five, when Charles the Eighth undertook the conquest of Naples, to the year one thousand five hundred fifty and eight, when Henry the Second died, the histories of those times tell us that all the bonds, either by the bed or by the book, either by weddings or sacramental oaths, had neither faithful purpose nor performance. Yet did Demetrius reap this profit by giving his daughter to his enemy Seleucus, that he recovered Cilicia from Plistarchus, the brother of Cassander, who had gotten it as his share in the division of Antigonus's possessions; for the intruder was not strong enough to hold it by his proper forces from him that entered upon it as a lawful heir, neither would Seleucus lend him any help, as by the rule of confederacy he should have done against the common enemy. So Plistarchus with very angry complaint, as well against Seleucus as Demetrius, went unto Cassander; whither Phila their sister followed him shortly, to pacify them both, and keep all quiet; being sent for that purpose by Demetrius her husband, that was not strong enough to deal with Cassander, and therefore glad to make use of that bond of alliance betwixt them, whereof in his own prosperity he never took notice to the other's good. About the same time he took to wife a

daughter of Ptolomy, (plurality of wives being familiar with these Macedonians, that had learned it in their eastern conquests,) and so was he by two marriages rather freed from two enemies, than strengthened with two friends, for neither of them wished him any good, otherwise than might seem to advance their own ambitious desires.

Seleucus and Ptolomy could both of them have been contented better, that Demetrius, with help of their countenance, should seek his fortune somewhat further off than settle his estate under their noses. Particularly Seleucus thought that Cilicia lay very fitly for himself; and Ptolomy had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the isle of Cyprus. Now whether it were so, that Seleucus would fain have set his new father-in-law upon the neck of Lysimachus; or whether he were indeed greedy of the bargain, he offered to buy of Demetrius, for ready money, his late purchase of Cilicia. Hereunto Demetrius would not hearken, but meant to keep as much land as he could, having already found in Cilicia twelve thousand talents of his father's treasure, that would serve him to make sport a while. This refusal so displeased Seleucus, that in angry terms he demanded the cities of Tyre and Sidon to be surrendered unto him; which were the only places in Syria that had not followed the fortune of the late great battle. Instead of giving them up, Demetrius took present order to have them better manned; and spake it stoutly, that were he overcome a thousand times, yet would he not hire Seleucus to become his son-in-law. In this quarrel Seleucus was generally reprehended as one of a malignant disposition, that would break friendship with his father-in-law for two towns, from whom he had already taken more than well he knew how to govern. But the fire consumed itself in words, which had it fastened upon arms, like it is that the weaker should have found friends out of envy to the stronger.

SECT. VI.

How Demetrius won the city of Athens, and prevailed in Greece, but lost in Asia. Of troubles in Macedon following the death of Cassander.

In the mean while the Athenians, not knowing how to use the liberty which Demetrius had bestowed on them, were fallen by sedition under the tyranny of Lachares. Through which alteration their distempered city was so weakened, that it seemed ill able to keep off the punishment due to their late ingratitude. This advantage hastened him, whom they had once called their *god and saviour*, to present himself unto them in the habit of a revenging fury. He brought against them all the force that he could well spare from other employments, which were at that time perhaps the more, because his doubtful eastern friends were unwilling to give impediment to any business that might entangle him in Greece. His first enterprise in Athens had ill success; a great part of his fleet perishing in a tempest. But he soon repaired the loss, and, (after some victories in Peloponnesus, where he won divers towns that had fallen from him,) returning to the enterprise, wasted the country of Attica, and cut off all relief from the city, both by land and sea.

Athens was not able to feed the great multitude within it any long time; for it stood in a barren soil, and wanted now the command of those islands, and places abroad, from whence it was wont to be stored with victuals; being also destitute of means to keep such a navy, as might bring in supply, or dare to do any thing at sea against that of Demetrius. Yet was there some hope of succour from Ptolomy, who (trusting thereby to win the love of Greece) had loaden a hundred and fifty ships with corn, and sent them to relieve the hungry city. But these hundred and fifty were unable to deal with three hundred good fighting ships, which Demetrius had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore hasted them away betimes, as having done enough, in adventuring to come so near, that they might be descried. This broke the heart of the people;

among whom the famine was so extreme, that a father and his son did fight for a dead mouse, which dropped down between them from the housetop. Wherefore they sent ambassadors to yield up the town, and crave pardon, having so far offended, that out of desperation they made it a capital offence to propose any motion of peace. Yet were they fain to abolish this decree; rather because they knew not what else to do, than because they hoped to be forgiven.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the victory, did not only forbear to take away the lives of these unthankful men, which they had submitted unto his mercy; but out of his liberality gave them food, and placed in office amongst them such as were most acceptable to the people. Nevertheless he was grown wiser than to trust them so far as he had done in times past. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bade him take their havens, and dispose of them at his pleasure, he was ready to lay hold upon the word, and leave a sure garrison within their walls, to keep them honest perforce. After this he went into Peloponnesus, vanquished the Lacedæmonians in two battles, and was in very fair possibility to take their city; when the dangerous news called him in all haste, of Lysimachus and Ptolomy, that prevailed faster upon him elsewhere than himself did upon his enemies in Greece. Lysimachus had won many towns in Asia; Ptolomy had gotten all the isle of Cyprus, except the city of Salamis, wherein Demetrius had left his children and mother, that were straitly besieged. Whilst he was bethinking himself which way to turn his forces, a notable piece of business offered itself, which thrust all other cares out of his head.

Cassander was lately dead in Macedon, and soon after him Philip his eldest son, whose two younger brethren, Antipater and Alexander, fought for the kingdom. In this quarrel Thessalonica, the daughter of king Philip, whom Cassander had married, seemed better affected to Alexander than to her elder son; who thereupon grew so enraged, that

most barbarously he slew his own mother. The odiousness of this fact gave a fair lustre to Alexander's cause, drawing the generality of the Macedons to take his part, as in revenge of the queen's death, upon that wicked parricide Antipater. But Antipater was so strongly backed by Lysimachus, whose daughter he had married, that Alexander could not hope to make his party good without some foreign aid. For which cause he called in both Pyrrhus and Demetrius, who how they dealt with him, it will soon appear in the following tragedy of him and his brother. Their father Cassander had been one that shifted well for himself, at such time as every man sought how to get somewhat in the ill-ordered division of the empire. He was cunning in practice, and a good soldier; one of more open dealing than were his companions, but withal more impudent, rudely killing those whom others would more wisely have made away. He deeply hated the memory of Alexander, that had knocked his head against a wall, upon some opinion of contempt. With Olympias he had an hereditary quarrel, derived from his father, whom she could not abide. Her feminine malice did so exasperate him by cruelty that she used against his friends, both alive and dead, as it made him adventure upon shedding the royal blood; wherewith when once he had stained his hands, he did not care how far he proceeded in that course of murder. His carefulness to destroy those women and children, whose lives hindered his purpose, argues him to have been rather skilful in matters of arms than a valiant man, such cruelty being a true mark of cowardice, which fears afar off the dangers that may quietly pass away; and seeks to avoid them by base and wicked means, as never thinking itself safe enough, until there be nothing left that carries likelihood of danger. Of Olympias and Roxana it may be said, that they had well deserved the bloody end which overtook them, yet ill beseemed it Cassander to do the office of a hangman. But Alexander's children had by no law of men deserved to die for the tyranny of their father. Wherefore, though Cassander died in his bed, yet the divine justice brought swords

upon his wife and children, that well revenged the cruelty of this bloody man by destroying his whole house, as he had done his master's.

SECT. VII.

Of Pyrrhus and his doings in Macedon. The death of Cassander's children. Demetrius gets the kingdom of Macedon; prevails in war against the Greeks; loseth reputation in his war against Pyrrhus, and in his civil government, and prepares to win Asia. How all conspire against Demetrius. Pyrrhus and Lysimachus invade him; his army yields to Pyrrhus, who shares the kingdom of Macedon with Lysimachus.

PYRRHUS, the son of that unfortunate prince Æacides, which perished in war against Cassander, was hardly preserved, being a sucking infant, from the fury of his father's enemies. When his fosterers had conveyed him to Glaucias king of Illyria, the deadly hatred of Cassander would have bought his life with the price of two hundred talents. But no man can kill him that shall be his heir. Glaucias was so far from betraying Pyrrhus, that he restored him by force to his father's kingdom, when he was but twelve years of age. Within the compass of six years, either the indiscretions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his subjects, drave him out of his kingdom, and left him to try the world anew. Then went he to Demetrius, (who married his sister,) became his page, followed him a while in his wars, was with him in the great battle of Ipsus, whence he fled with him to Ephesus, and was content to be hostage for him in his reconciliation with Ptolomy. In Egypt he so behaved himself, that he got the favour of Berenice, Ptolomy's principal wife, so that he married her daughter, and was thereupon sent home with money and men into Epirus, more beholding now to Ptolomy than to Demetrius. When he had fully recovered the kingdom of Epirus, and was settled in it, then fell out that business between the children of Cassander, which drew both him and Demetrius into Macedon.

Antipater, the elder of Cassander's sons, was so far too

weak for Pyrrhus, that he had no desire to attend the coming of Demetrius, but made an hasty agreement, and divided the kingdom with his younger brother Alexander; who likewise felt the aid of Pyrrhus so troublesome, that he was more willing to send him away than to call in such another helper. For Pyrrhus had the audacity to request, or take as granted by strong hand, Ambracia, Acarnania, and much more of the country, as the reward of his pains; leaving the two brethren to agree as well as they could about the rest. Necessity enforced the brethren to composition; but their composition would not satisfy Demetrius, who took the matter heinously, that he was sent for, and made a fool, to come so far with an army, and find no work for it. This was a frivolous complaint, whereby it appeared that Demetrius had a purpose to do as Pyrrhus had done, and so much more by how much he was stronger. Hereupon it seemed to Alexander a wise course to remove this over diligent friend, by murdering him upon some advantage. Thus Demetrius reported the story, and it might be true; though the greatest part, and perhaps the wisest, believed it not. But the issue was, that Alexander himself was feasted and slain by Demetrius, who took his part of the kingdom as a reward for the murder; excusing the fact so well, by telling his own danger, and what a naughty man Cassander had been, that all the Macedonians grew glad enough to acknowledge him their king. It fell out happily, that about the same time Lysimachus was busied in war with a king of the wild Thracians; for thereby he was compelled to seek peace of Demetrius, which to obtain, he caused the remainder of Macedon to be given up, that is, the part belonging to Antipater his son-in-law. At this ill bargain Antipater grievously stormed, though he knew not how to amend it; yet still he stormed, until his father-in-law, to save the labour of making many excuses, took away his troublesome life. Thus in haste, with a kind of neglect, and as it were to avoid molestation, were slain the children of Cassander; of Cassander, that had slain his own master's children in a wise course of policy, with careful

meditation (so much the more wicked as the more long) studying how to erect his own house, that fell down upon his grave, ere the earth on it was throughly settled.

It might be thought, that such an access of dominion added much to the greatness of Demetrius; but indeed it shewed his infirmity, and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no art of civil government, but thought (or shewed by his actions that he thought) the use and fruit of a kingdom to be none other than to do what a king listed. He gave himself over to women and wine, laughing openly at those that offered to trouble him with supplications, and the tedious discourse of doing justice. He had more skill in getting a kingdom than in ruling it, war being his recreation, and luxury his nature. By long rest (as six years reign is long to him that knows not how to reign one year) he discovered so much of his worst condition, as made both the people weary of his idleness, and the soldiers of his vanity. He was freed from care of matters in Asia, by hearing that all was lost, though more especially by hearing that Ptolomy had, with great honour, entertained and dismissed his mother and children. This afforded him the better leisure of making war in Greece, where he vanquished the Thebans, and won their city twice in short space, but used his victory with mercy. Against Lysimachus he would fain have done somewhat (the peace between them notwithstanding) at such time as he was taken by the Thracians; but Lysimachus was freely dismissed, and in good case to make resistance ere Demetrius came, so as this journey purchased nothing but enmity. Another expedition he took in hand against Pyrrhus, with no better, or rather with worse event. Pyrrhus held somewhat belonging to Macedon, which he had indeed as honestly gotten, as Demetrius the whole kingdom; he had also made excursions into Thessaly, but there needed not any handsome pretence of quarrel, seeing Demetrius thought himself strong enough to overrun his enemy's country with two great armies. It is a common fault in men to despise the virtue of those whom they have

known raw novices in that faculty, wherein themselves are noted as extraordinary. Pyrrhus was a captain whom later ages, and particularly the great Hannibal, placed higher in the rank of generals than either Demetrius or any of Alexander's followers. At this time he missed that part of the army which Demetrius led, and fell upon the other half; which he overthrew, not with more commendations of his good conduct, than of his private valour shewed in single combat against Pantauchus, Demetrius's lieutenant, who, being a strong man of body, challenged this young prince to fight hand to hand, and was utterly beaten. The loss of this battle did not so much offend the Macedonians, as the gallant behaviour of Pyrrhus delighted them. For in him they seemed to behold the lively figure of Alexander in his best quality. Other kings did imitate, in a counterfeit manner, some of Alexander's graces, and had good skill in wearing princely vestures; but, said they, none, save Pyrrhus, is like him indeed in performing the office of a captain.

These rumours were not more nourished by the virtue of the Epirot, than by dislike of their own king, whom they began to disesteem, not so much in regard of his unprofitable journey into Epirus, (for he had wasted much of the country, and brought home his army in good case,) as of his insolence, that grew daily more and more intolerable. His apparel seemed, in the eyes of the Macedons, not only too sumptuous and new fangled, but very unmanly; and serving chiefly to be a daily witness how much he contemned them and their good opinion. Of his soldiers' lives he was reckless, and suffered unwisely this unprincely sentence to escape out of his mouth, that "the more of them died, the "fewer he was to pay." He made a mockery of justice, and (as it were to publish unto all his subjects how little he esteemed it or them) having by a show of popularity invited petitioners, and with a gracious countenance entertained their supplications, he led the poor suitors after him in great hope, till coming to a bridge, he threw all their writings into the river, pleasing himself, in that he could so easily and so boldly delude the cares of other men. By

these courses he grew so odious, that Pyrrhus gathered audacity, and, invading Macedon, had almost won it all with little resistance. Demetrius lay then sick in his bed, who recovering health, and taking the field, had such great odds of strength, as made Pyrrhus glad to forsake his winnings, and be gone.

At length he began to have some feeling of the general hate; which to redress, he did not (for he could not) alter his own conditions, but purposed to alter their idle discourses of him, by setting them on work in such an action, wherein his best qualities might appear, that is, in a great war. His intent was to invade Asia with a royal army, wherein the fortune of one battle might give him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end he first made peace with Pyrrhus, that so he might leave all safe and quiet at home. Then did he compose a mighty army, of almost a hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse; with a navy of five hundred sail, wherein were many ships, far exceeding the greatness of any that had been seen before, yet so swift and useful withal, that the greatness was least part of their commendation.

The terrible fame of these preparations made Seleucus and Ptolomy suspect their own forces, and labour hard with Lysimachus and Pyrrhus to join against this ambitious son of Antigonus, that was like to prove more dangerous to them all, than ever was his father. It was easily discerned, that if Demetrius once prevailed in Asia, there could be no security for his friends in Europe, what league soever were of old concluded. Therefore they resolved to begin with him betimes, and each to invade that quarter of Macedon that lay next his own kingdom. Lysimachus came first, and against him went Demetrius with a great part of his army; but whilst he was yet on the way, news were brought into his camp that Pyrrhus had won Berrhœa. The matter was not overgreat, were it not that minds prepared with long discontent are ready to lay hold upon small occasions of dislike. All the camp was in uproar; some wept, others raged, few or none did forbear to utter seditious

words, and many desired leave of Demetrius to go to their own houses, meaning indeed to have gone to Lysimachus.

When Demetrius perceived the bad affection of his army, he thought it the wisest way to lead the Macedonians further off from Lysimachus, their own countryman, against Pyrrhus that was a stranger, hoping, by victory against the Epirot, to recover the love of his followers, in such sort that he might afterwards at leisure deal with the other. But herein his wisdom beguiled him. For the soldiers were as hasty as he to meet with Pyrrhus, not intending to hurt him, but longing to see that noble prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some spake of his valour; some inquired, others answered, of his person, his armour, and other tokens whereby he might be known; as particularly by a pair of goat's horns that he wore on his crest. It was not likely that these men should hurt him. Divers of them stole away, and ran over into Pyrrhus's camp, where the news that they brought were better welcome than their persons. For they said, and it was true, that if the Macedonians might once get sight of Pyrrhus, they would all salute him king. To try this, Pyrrhus rode forth, and presented himself bareheaded in view of the camp, whither some were sent before to prepare his welcome. The news of his arrival found a general applause, and every one began to look out with desire to set eye on him. His face was not so well known as his helmet, therefore he was admonished to put it on; which done, all came about him, and proffered their service; neither were there any that spake for Demetrius, only some (and they the most moderate of tongue) bade him be gone betimes, and shift for himself. So Demetrius threw aside his masker's habit, and attiring himself poorly, did fearfully steal away out of his own camp; deserving well this calamity, whether it were so that he would not hearken to the good counsel of his friends, or whether his behaviour deprived him of such friends as would dare to let him hear the unpleasant sound of necessary truth.

Whilst Pyrrhus was making this triumphant entry into

the kingdom of Macedon, Lysimachus came upon him very unseasonably, and would needs have half; saying, that he had done as much as Pyrrhus in the war, and therefore had reason to challenge his part of the gains. The bargain was quickly made, and the division agreed upon; each of them being rather desirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them to work his fellow quite out of all upon better opportunity.

SECT. VIII.

How Demetrius, gathering forces, enterprised many things with ill success in Greece and Asia. How he was driven upon Seleucus, and compelled to yield himself. His imprisonment and death.

THE Athenians were as unthankful to Demetrius in this his adversity, as they had been in former times; for they presently forsook his friendship, and called Pyrrhus out of Macedon to be their patron. Demetrius, when he went against Lysimachus, had left a great part of his forces in Greece, under his son Antigonus. Therefore it is like that he had soon gotten an army; though Phila his wife (who is highly commended for a wise and virtuous lady) did poison herself, upon desperate grief of his misfortune. The first upon whom he attempted to shew his anger were the Athenians, that had well deserved it. He began to lay siege to their town, but was pacified by Crates the philosopher, whom they made their spokesman; and, taking fair words instead of satisfaction, passed over into Asia with eleven thousand soldiers, meaning to try his fortune against Lysimachus, for the provinces of Lydia and Caria.

At his first coming into those parts fortune seemed to smile upon him; for many good towns willingly, or by compulsion, yielded to his obedience. There were also some captains that fell from Lysimachus to him, with their companies and treasures. But it was not long ere Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus, came upon him with an army so strong, that it was not for Demetrius's good to hazard his last stock against it. Wherefore he resolved to pass through Phrygia and Armenia into Media, and the provinces of the

Higher Asia; trusting to find a kingdom somewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counsel was grievously impeached by Agathocles; who pursued him close, and cut off all his provisions, driving him to take which ways he could, without following his intended course. In many skirmishes Demetrius vanquished this troublesome enemy; nevertheless he could not be shaken off, but continued afflicting the poor titulary king with extreme famine. At length, in passing the river Lycus, so many of Demetrius's men were lost, that the rest could no longer make resistance, but were driven to travel with such speed, as might well be called a plain flight. So that with famine, pestilent diseases following famine, and other accidents of war, eight thousand of them were consumed; the rest, with their captain, escaped into Cilicia. Seleucus had gotten possession of Cilicia whilst Demetrius was occupied in Greece; yet was it no part of Demetrius's errand to lay claim to the country, but with vehement and humble letters he besought his son-in-law to call to mind their alliance, and to pity him in his great misery. These letters at the first wrought well with Seleucus, and he condescended to the request; yet considering further how Demetrius had carried himself when he recovered strength after the battle at Ipsus, he changed his purpose, and went against him with an army.

Many treaties were held between them; of which none took effect, through the jealousy of Seleucus. Therefore mere desperation enforced Demetrius to fight like a madman; and his fury got him some victories, though of small importance. At length sickness took and held him forty days, in which time a great number of his few men ran to the enemy. This notwithstanding, he still held out, and once had like to have taken Seleucus in his bed, had not his coming been discovered by fugitives, that gave the alarm. Finally, when all his army had forsaken him, and left him with a few of his friends to shift for himself, he was compelled by the last of those adherents (for even some of those few forsook him) to yield unto Seleucus.

Seleucus, hearing this, was exceeding glad, and sent him

very comfortable messages. But the approbation of his own humanity, by his followers, was such, as renewed his jealous thoughts, and hindered him from admitting Demetrius to his presence, though otherwise he used him with as much favour as any prisoner could wish. He was kept under sure guard in a demy-island, wherein were goodly walks, orchards, and parks for hunting. He had all that he asked royally, and friends allowed to visit him at his and their pleasure. Only his liberty was reserved unto the coming of young Antiochus and Stratonica out of the high countries. In this sort he spent three years, living merrily all the while, (as one that now enjoyed the happiness which with so much travail and bloodshed he had sought in vain,) and then died, leaving to his son Antigonus the same which his father had left unto himself; that is, friends and hope. His ashes were honourably buried in Corinth; his qualities have appeared in his actions, and the fortune of his house will shew itself hereafter, in times and places convenient.

SECT. IX.

The death of Ptolomy, of Lysimachus, and of Seleucus, that was last of Alexander's captains; with other occurrences.

ABOUT the same time that Demetrius died, died also Ptolomy king of Egypt; a virtuous prince, warlike, gentle, bountiful, and (which in those times was a rare commendation) regardful of his word. He had, by many wives and concubines, many children, out of whom he selected Ptolomy Philadelphus, and caused him to reign together with himself two or three years before he died, that so he might confirm him in the inheritance of the kingdom. At this, Ptolomy Ceraunus (for all of that house assumed the name of Ptolomy) was grievously incensed; but no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to Seleucus, who gave him loving entertainment. There were now only two of Alexander's captains left, Seleucus and Lysimachus. These two needs would fight for it, who should be the longest liver of that brave company. The true ground of their quarrel was their near equality of strength, and want of

one to part them. The pretence was the murders which Lysimachus had committed upon many of his nobles, together with his poisoning Agathocles, his eldest son; whose wife and children fled unto Seleucus for aid.

The Macedons, after seven months pause, having spent their first heat of admiration, began to hearken so well to Lysimachus, their natural countryman, that they forsook Pyrrhus, upon none other ground than because he was an alien. This they had known well enough before; but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him what they lightly gave him. Lysimachus had reigned about five years alone, when the city of Lysimachia (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earthquake, appeared, by events, to have foreshewed the fall of his house. His own jealousy, and the instigation of a mother-in-law, caused him to poison his son Agathocles, which drew upon him that war, wherein (after the loss of all his fifteen children, that were taken away by divers accidents) he perished himself.

Seleucus was encountered by Lysimachus on Asia side, where one battle concluded the war with Lysimachus's death. It pleased Seleucus more than the victory, that he was the last of all the great heroes which had followed Alexander; for now he seemed to himself as lord and heir of all the conquered world. So he passed over into Macedon to take possession of Europe, where there was none to withstand him. But there he ended his days, and within seven months followed Lysimachus, and other of his fellows, by a bloody death; being treacherously slain by Ptolomy Ceraunus, whose friend and patron he had been. Seventy and seven years old he was when he fought with Lysimachus, and Lysimachus was seventy and four. With them ended the generation of old captains, that had seen the days, as it were, of another world under the Persian; yet was there left one equal to any of them in the art of war, even Pyrrhus the Epirot, of whom we spake before; that is now ready to enter into war with the Romans, a more warlike people than Alexander himself ever did encounter. Of

which war, and of which people, it is needful that we here make mention, as of a story more important than any likely to ensue in Greece, or in the great kingdoms that were held by Alexander's successors with less (and still decreasing) virtue, than was that by which they were first purchased.

CHAP. VII.

The growth of Rome, and settling of the eastern kingdoms.

SECT. I.

How the Romans enlarged their dominion in Italy, from the death of Tullus Hostilius, unto such time as they were assailed by Pyrrhus.

HOW Rome was founded by Romulus, settled in good order by Numa Pompilius, and by many, though small victories it gathered strength, unto such time as it became the head of Latium, by the conquest of Alba, in the reign of Tullus Hostilius, it hath been already noted in due order of time. But whereas now the Roman greatness beginneth to encounter the power of Greece, and extending itself out of Italy, to overwhelm the dominions of other states and princes, I hold it convenient (as in like cases I have done) briefly to set down the growth of this mighty city, in a compendious relation of those many actions, which could not have been delivered in the ages wherein they were severally performed without much interruption of the history, that was then occupied in matter more important.

After the death of Tullus Hostilius, (who, when he had reigned two and thirty years, was burnt together with his house by lightning,) Ancus Martius, grandchild to Numa Pompilius by his daughter, and not much unlike him in disposition, succeeded in the kingdom of Rome. He walled the city about, enlarged it with the hill Aventine, which he enclosed, built a bridge over Tibris, and the city of Ostia upon the sea, sixteen miles distant from Rome. Finally,

having reigned four and twenty years, he died, and by his last will he left his children in charge with one Lucumon, the son of Damaratus, a Corinthian, who, avoiding Cypselus king of Corinth, his tyranny, had fled into Hetruria, and dwelt in Tarquinii, by the name of which town he was afterwards called Tarquinius. From that city in Hetruria coming to Rome, and encouraged by some ominous occurrents, together with his wife Tanaquil's prophecy, he grew a favourite of Ancus Martius, by his Grecian wit humouring the factions of the Roman court; insomuch that after his decease, he became not only protector to the children, but governor to the city. He doubled the number of senators, and enlarged the centuries of horsemen; neither was he less eminent in war than in peace; for he prevailed often against the Tuscans, and from his victories the chiefest ornaments of triumph took their original. When this Lucius Tarquinius had reigned eight and thirty years, he was slain by the sons of Ancus Martius, to whom he had been left guardian. But Tanaquil his wife perceiving what was done, informed the people, from out of an high turret, that her husband was wounded and sick, but not dangerously; and withal signified unto them, that in the interim of his sickness, one Servius Tullius, whom from his birth she always prophesied to be born to great hopes, (the son of P. Corniculanus and Ocrisia, a well descended but captive woman,) brought up in her house, and husband unto her daughter, should supply her husband's place in governing the state until his recovery; which government, being thus at first obtained by cunning, he afterwards usurped as his right. He first ordained raterments, subsidies, and valuations of the people's wealth; among whom, at that time, fourscore thousand were mustered, of which number consisted their whole corporation; and by distinction of dignities, ages, trades, and offices, he managed the kingdom in as good sort, as if it had been a private household. At length, having two daughters of different natures, the one mild and gentle, the other fierce and outrageous; and finding also that the two sons of Tarquinius Priscus, Sextus and Aruns, which had

been committed to his tuition, were of different dispositions, proportionably answering to his daughters; he (willing to add water, not oil, to fire) gave the mild daughter to Sextus, the hotheaded son; and the violent to Aruns, the gentle, in marriage. But whether by intended courses, or by accident it happened, the two mild ones being made away, the furious natures were readily joined in marriage; who soon concurring, and calling the senate together, began to lay claim to the kingdom. Upon this tumult, Servius Tullius, hastening to the senate, (where he thought by authority to have bridled insolency,) was thrown down the stairs, and going home sore bruised was slain by the way, when he had reigned forty and four years. Then Tullia his daughter, first proclaiming her husband Tarquinius Superbus king, returning home, enforced her coachman to drive his chariot over her father's corpse; whereupon the street had the denomination of Wicked Street. This Tarquin, exercising cruelty without justice, and tyranny without mercy, upon the people and senators, having tired himself and them at home, used the same rage and treachery upon his borders. He took Ocriculum, Suessa Pometia, and the Gabii. The issue of besieging Ardea, a town eighteen miles distant from Rome, was of bad success. In the heat of which war his son, Sextus Tarquinius, violently ravished that chaste lady Lucretia, his kinsman Collatine's wife; who, in way of expiation for so unchaste a deed, thought good to wash out those spots of infamy with her own blood; so (having first bequeathed the revenge unto her father Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus, her husband Collatine, and Junius Brutus) she killed herself: whereupon (chiefly by Junius Brutus's resolution) Tarquinius Superbus, with his wife and children, was deposed and banished, and fled to Porsenna, king of Hetruria, for succour, in the five and twentieth year of his reign, and the two hundred forty and fourth from the building of their city; in which space Rome had scarce gotten full possession of fifteen miles round about her.

Junius Brutus, by the help of Collatine, having expelled Tarquin, and freed his country from that heavy yoke of

bondage, enforced the people by solemn oath never to admit any government by kings amongst them; whereupon they ransacked their king's goods, consecrated their fields to Mars, and conferred the government of the state upon Brutus and Collatine. But because the name of king was odious in their ears, they changed the manner of their government from perpetual to annual, and from a single governor to a double, lest perpetual or sole dominion might be some motive to usurpation; and instead of kings they called them consuls, signifying, as it may be interpreted, *providers;* that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to be always mindful of their citizens' welfare. And yet was it so hard settling of troubled waters, that the people after this innovation of state, scarce daring to assure themselves of their own security, enforced Tarquinius Collatine to resign up his authority, fearing that tyranny would be hereditary, and supposing that the very name and affinity with the house of Tarquin savoured already of their condition. In his room was substituted Valerius Publicola, who, that he might (as his name importeth) be gracious in the people's eyes, gave liberty in matters of controversy to appeal from the consuls to the people; and that he might as well in goods as in person avoid occasion of suspicion, caused his own house to be pulled down, because it was built in a place defensible, as if it had been a citadel. Neither was Brutus any ways deficient in matter of greater moment, which concerned as well the people's safety as their favour; for having got intelligence that some greener wits, and in the first rank his own sons, were itching after innovations, hoping to restore the banished kings, he caused them publicly in the market-place to be whipped, and then to be brought all unpartially to the block.

Hitherto the Romans, having by the unblemished integrity of Brutus well appeased all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter employ their military designments against foreigners; first for their liberty, secondly for enlarging their possessions, and lastly for defending their confederate provinces, and extending their empire. For Rome, situ-

ated as it were in the midway between Latium and the Tuscans, having as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minority, could not but give occasion of offence to her neighbours; until by main opposition having prevailed against her borderers, she used them as instruments whereby to obtain the rest.

Their first war, in the first year of consuls, was against Porsenna king of Hetruria, who, being over-persuaded by Tarquin's lamentation, came to Rome, together with the banished king, and with great forces, to seat him again in his kingdom.

In the first conflict, Horatius Cocles, having long time borne the main brunt of his enemies on the bridge over Tibris, at length, feeling himself too faint to stand against so many, caused the bridge behind him to be broken down, and with his armour leaping into the river, like a hunted stag, refreshed his hot spirits, and returned safe to his fellows with the like resolution to give a new charge. Porsenna, although by this he had well nigh won the hill Janiculus, which is the very entrance unto the city, and found the victory in a manner assuredly his own; yet admiring their valour, and terrified by the constant resolution of Mutius Scævola, (who having by error slain Porsenna's secretary, instead of the king himself, did, in scorn of torments threatened, burn off his own hand,) he thought it not any wit prejudicial, either to his safety or credit, to enter league with them at the worst hand. And yet the edge of Tarquinius's spleen was not quite abated, though Aruns his son, and Brutus his enemy, in single combat, had slain each other. And here the Romans, although they lost Brutus, got the field; and their ladies, whose champion he was for their chastity, not for beauty, mourned the loss of him one whole year. Into his place, for the residue of his year, was subrogated Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus, father to Lucretia; and in his room (deceasing naturally before the year expired) Horatius Pulvillus.

Tarquin, upon his overthrow, feeling the fates disastrous, thought it no boot to strive against the stream, and spent

the residue of his time, which was about fourteen years, privately at Tusculum. Yet his son-in-law, Mamilius Tusculanus, stomaching afresh at those old repulses, because Porsenna had made peace with the Romans, and denied further succour unto the Tarquins, mustered up his Latins, and gave battle to the Romans at the lake Regillum, where the conflict was fierce, and the issue uncertain, until Aulus Posthumius, the Roman dictator, (for they had created this magistracy greater than consuls purposely for this war, when first it was expected,) to exasperate his soldiers' courage, threw their own ensigns amidst the enemy; and Cossus, or Spurius Cassius, (master of the horsemen, an assistant officer to the dictator,) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might run with free violence to recover again their ensigns. This fight was so well performed, that a report went current of Castor and Pollux, two gods, who came on milk-white steeds to be eyewitnesses of their valour, and fellow-helpers of their victory; for the general consecrated a temple to them, as a stipend for their pains. After this, the Romans' fierce spirits, having no object of valour abroad, reflected upon themselves at home, and the sixteenth year after the king's expulsion, upon instigation of some desperate bankrouts, thinking themselves wrongfully oppressed by the senate and consuls, they made an uproar in the holy mount; until, by Menenius Agrippa, his discreet allusion of the inconvenience in the head and belly's discord to that present occasion, they were reconciled to the senate; with condition that they might have some new magistrates created, to whom they might appeal in cases of variance, and make them solicitors in their controversies, the consul's authority notwithstanding. This was enacted, and they were called the tribunes of the people. After this atonement amongst themselves, they had continual war with the Latins, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring states. Amongst these the Volsci and Æqui held them longest, who made war of themselves upon the Romans; whereby they lost the best city in their whole jurisdiction, Corioli.

In this conquest, T. Martius got the surname of Coriolanus, a name honourable then, as derived from a great victory; although, by reason of the poverty of the town, a Roman general in after-times would have been ashamed of that title. But yet these graces had been no occasion of disparagement, had he not afterwards, in a great time of dearth, advised to sell corn, which they procured from Sicily, at too high a rate to the people; whereupon Decius Mus, their tribune, in their behalf accused him, and, after judgment, banished him. Coriolanus flying to the Volsci, whom lately before he had vanquished, incensed them to renew their forces again, which being committed unto him and to Attius Tullus, he prevailed in field so far forth, that he was come within four or five miles of the city. Encamping there, he made so sharp war, and was at such defiance with his country, that he would not relent by any supplications of ambassadors, until his mother Veturia and Volumnia his wife, with a pitiful tune of deprecation, shewing themselves better subjects to their country than friends to their son and husband, were more available to Rome than was any force of arms. Hereupon Coriolanus dismissing his army, was after put to death among the Volsci as a traitor, for neglecting such opportunity; or, as others surmise, living with them until old age, he died naturally.

Not long after this, the Veii in Hetruria provoked the Romans, against whom the Fabii, three hundred and six in number, all of one family, entreated and obtained that they only might be employed, as it had been in a private quarrel. These Fabii, after some good services, lying encamped at Cremera, were circumvented, and all slain; one only of that whole house had been left, by reason of infancy, at home, from whom afterward sprung Fabius Maximus, who vanquished Hannibal.

In process of time the Romans were also troubled with the Volsci, at the hill Algidum, two miles from Rome, where Lucius Minucius their consul, with his whole army, had been discomfited, had not L. Quintius Cincinnatus, chosen dictator, and taken from the plough to the highest honour

in Rome, with success answerable to his expedition, dispersed his enemies, and freed his country in the space of sixteen days. In the continuance of this Volscian war it was, that Appius Claudius, one of the ten men whom they had two years before chosen governors of the state, and enactors of Solon's laws amongst them, procured from Athens, (abrogating in the mean while the consuls, and all other magistracies,) could have ravished Virginia, the daughter of T. Virginius, captain of a company, and lying then in camp at Algidum. Hereupon the people in an uproar took the hill Aventine, and after much variance enforced the ten men to resign up their authority again to new consuls.

After this, either new quarrels or desire to revenge old losses drew the Romans into a new war against the Veientes and their adherents, upon whom having tried their forces with diversity of captains and variety of event, they vanquished the Falisci and the Fidenates, and utterly subdued the Veientes. In conquering the Falisci, Furius Camillus shewed no less integrity than fortitude. For when a schoolmaster, by training forth into the Roman camp many children of the principal citizens, thought to betray the town, yielding them all up as hostages, Camillus delivered this traitor bound unto his scholars, willing them to whip him back into the city, which forthwith yielded unto him in reverence of his justice. The siege of Veii was ten years, and so troublesome, that the Romans were there first enforced to winter abroad under beasts' skins, (to which they were the more easily induced, because then first they received pay,) and to make vows never to return without victory.

At length winning the city by a mine, they got so large spoils, that they consecrated their tenths to Apollo Pythius; and the whole people in general were called to the ransacking of the city. But yet they were no less unthankful to Camillus for his service, than before they had been to Coriolanus, for they banished him the city upon some occasion of inequality in dividing the spoils; yet he requited their unkindness with a new piece of service against the fury of the Gauls, who being a populous country, and very health-

ful, the fathers (as sometimes now) lived so long, that the ons, destitute of means, were enforced to rove abroad, eeking some place where to set up their rest; and withal ng a nation vast in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandered as rovers over many countries. Some of them lighting on Italy, set upon Clusium, a town in Hetruria; whereof Rome having information, (and being careful of her confederate towns,) sent ambassadors, warning them to desist from such injurious enterprises. But the barbarous people not regarding the message, upon some injury offered by the Roman ambassadors, converted their forces from Clusium towards Rome; and giving a great overthrow to the Romans by the river Allia, upon the sixteenth day before the calends of August, (which day was after branded for unlucky, and called Alliensis in the Roman calendar,) they hastened towards the city. Then was Rome the true map of misery and desolation. For some leaving the city, some creeping into holes, priests hiding their relics, and every one shifting for himself, ere the enemy came, Rome was abandoned as indefensible. The vestal virgins in this tumult were safely conveyed away; the ancients of the city, gathering boldness out of desperate fear, did put on their robes, and taking their leave of the world, did seat themselves in thrones in their several houses, hourly expecting the messengers of death, and meaning to die, as they had lived, in state. The younger sort, with M. Manlius their captain, took upon them to make good the Capitol.

By this the Gauls were entered the city, who seeing all quiet, at first suspected some ambush; afterward finding all secure, they fell to the spoil, committing all to the fire and sword. As for the old senators, that sat in their majesty, with a grave resolution, having first reverenced them as gods, anon they tried whether they would die like men. When the city was throughly rifled, they attempted the Capitol, which held them work for the space of seven months. Once they were like to have surprised it by night, but being descried by the gaggling of geese, M. Manlius

did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a composition was agreed upon, the Gauls being weary and the Romans hungry. The bargain was, that the Gauls should take a thousand pound weight in gold to desist from their siege. Whilst the gold was in weighing, the Gauls, with open insolency, made their weights too heavy; Brennus their captain casting his sword into the balance, and, with a proud exprobration, saying, that the vanquished must be patient perforce. But in the midst of this cavilling came Furius Camillus, with an army from Ardea, (where he had lived in his banishment,) and fell upon the Gauls with such violence, that he dispersed their troops, quenched the fire of the city with their blood, forcing them to restore the spoils with advantage, and forbear the gold, in accepting which they had lately been so nice. Further, having rid the city of them, he so hotly pursued them through a great part of Italy, that the remainder of their army which escaped from him was very small. Other armies of the Gauls which followed this first had the like ill success. They were often beaten by the Romans, especially the victories of M. Torquatus and of M. Valerius Corvinus (each of which in single fight slew a champion of the Gauls) abated their presumption, and restored courage to the Romans. Camillus, for his notable service, was afterwards accounted a second Romulus.

The people, after this destruction of their city, were earnestly bent to go to the Veii to inhabit, but Camillus dissuaded them.

About the same time, somewhat before the siege of Veii, they changed their government from consuls to military tribunes. The government of these also, after some years, was by civil dissension interrupted; so that one while consuls ruled, another while there was an anarchy: then the tribunes were restored, and ruled again, till, after many years expired, the consular authority was established; it being enacted that one of the consuls should always be a plebeian. This was after the building of the city three hundred sixty-five years. And now Rome, by suppression of her neigh-

r countries creeping well forward out of her minority, es set forth against the warlike Samnites, who dwelt al- st one hundred and thirty miles off, situated between mpania and Apulia. These did so strongly invade the apanians their neighbours, that they forced them to d themselves subjects to Rome, and undergo any con- ons of tribute, or what else whatsoever, to obtain pro- tion, which the Romans, although both countries had en their confederates, yet not willing that the greater, fish, should devour the less, easily allowed of; especially aiming themselves at the good situation of Campania, the abundance of corn and wine, pleasant cities and towns, but especially Capua itself, the fairest city then in all Italy.

The families of the Papyrii and Fabii were most employed in the managing of this war, which endured the space of fifty years. And in this season were the Romans oftentimes dangerously encountered by the Samnites, as when T. Veturius and Sp. Posthumius were consuls, and discomfited by Pontius at Caudium with no small ignominy; and when Q. Fabius Gurges lost the field with three thousand men. But for these losses many great victories made large amends; the greatest whereof were gotten by L. Papyrius and by Quintus Fabius Maximus.

The Samnites drew the Hetrurians into their quarrel: but the force of the Samnites was well broken, ere the Hetrurians (the greater and richer, but less warlike nation) began to stir. So the one and the other of these two countries became at length tributary to Rome.

In the continuance of this long war it was (though in time of truce between the Romans and Samnites) that the Latins began to challenge equal freedom in the corporation of Rome, and right in bearing office, so that they required to have one of the consuls yearly chosen out of them.

This demand of the Latins was not unreasonable. For the Romans themselves were a Latin colony; besides all which, they made offer to change their name, and to be all called Romans. But the Romans were too proud to admit any such capitulation. So a great battle was fought be-

tween them; wherein the fortune of Rome prevailed by the virtue of the consuls.

Manlius Torquatus and the elder Decius were then consuls, whom the soothsayers advertised that the side should be victorious which lost the general in fight. Hereupon Decius the consul exposed his life to the enemy, and purchased victory (as was believed) by his death. In which kind of devoting himself for his army the son of this Decius, being after consul, did imitate his father in the Hetrurian war. But (as Tully well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these Decii that purchased victory by rushing into the midst of the enemies, wherein their soldiers followed them, than any great commendation of such a religion, as required the lives of so worthy citizens to be sacrificed for their country. The discipline of Manlius was no less resolute than the valour of Decius. He forbade any one to forsake his place, and fight single with an enemy. For breach of which order he caused his own son to be put to death, who had slain a captain of the Latins, being challenged, in single fight.

When the Latins, the Æqui, Volsci, Hernici, Campani, Samnites, and Hetrurians, with some other people, were brought under obedience; it was a vain labour for any people of Italy to contend against the Romans.

Yet the Sabines adventured to try their fortune, and found it bad. For Curius Dentatus, the Roman consul, wasting all their country with fire and sword, from the river Nar and Velia to the Adriatic sea, brought them into quiet subjection.

The last of the Italians that made trial of the Roman arms were the Tarentines and their adherents. These had interposed themselves as mediators between the Romans and Samnites, with a peremptory denunciation of war unto that party which should dare to refuse the peace by them tendered. These threats, which discovered their bad affection to Rome, ended in words; but when the Samnites were utterly subdued, matter enough of quarrel was found to examine their ability of performance.

Romans complained that certain ships of theirs were
nded; and sent ambassadors unto Tarentum, to require
nends. Upon some wrong done to these ambassadors
as laid the foundation of that war, wherein the Lucans,
essapians, Brutians, and Apulians, joining with the Ta-
entines, procured the Samnites, and other subjects of Rome,
o rebel, and take their part. But some experience of the
man strength taught all these people to know their own
weakness. Wherefore they agreed to send for Pyrrhus, by
whose aid (being a Grecian, as the Tarentines also were)
great hope was conceived, that the dominion of Rome should
be confined unto more narrow bounds than all Italy, which
already in a manner it did overspread.

SECT. II.

How Pyrrhus warred upon the Romans, and vanquished them in two battles.

PYRRHUS, forsaken by the Macedonians, and unable to deal with Lysimachus, was compelled a while to live in rest; which he abhorred no less than a wiser prince would have desired. He had a strong army and a good fleet, which in that unsettled state of things was enough to purchase a kingdom; but the fall of Demetrius had so increased the power of Lysimachus, that it was no point of wisdom to make an offensive war upon him, without far greater forces. Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, held Corinth at the same time, and some other towns, with the remainder of his father's army and treasures, left in his hand. Upon him it is like that Pyrrhus might have won; but it was better to let him alone, that he might serve to give some hinderance to Lysimachus.

In this want of employment, and covetous desire of finding it, the Tarentine ambassadors came very fitly to Pyrrhus: and they came with brave offers, as needing none other aid than his good conduct, which to obtain they would cast themselves under his protection. They had in their company some of the Samnites, Lucanians, Messapians, and others; which promised, in behalf of their several na-

tions, as much as could be desired. This encouraged Pyrrhus, and filled him with hopes of goodly conquests; that he might enlarge his empire to the west, as far as Alexander had gotten eastward, and still by one victory open the gate unto another. To which effect it is said, that once he answered Cyneas, his chief counsellor, asking what he meant to do after every of the victories which he hoped to get; that, having won Rome, he would soon be master of all Italy; that after Italy he would quickly get the isle of Sicily; that out of Sicily he would pass over into Afric, and win Carthage, with all the rest of the country; and being strengthened with the force of all these provinces, he would be too hard for any of those that were now so proud and troublesome. But Cyneas inquired yet further, what they should do when they were lords of all; whereunto Pyrrhus (finding his drift) answered pleasantly, that they would live merrily; a thing (as Cyneas then told him) that they presently might do without any trouble, if he could be contented with his own.

Nevertheless this Italian expedition seemed unto Pyrrhus a matter of such consequence, as was not to be omitted in regard of any scholastical disputation. Wherefore he prepared his army, of almost thirty thousand men, well sorted and well trained soldiers, part of which he sent over before him under Cyneas, with the rest he followed in person. At his coming, he found the Tarentines very prompt of tongue, but in matter of execution utterly careless to provide for the war. Wherefore he was fain to shut up their theatre, and other places of pleasure and resort; enforcing them to take arms, and making such a strict muster, as was to them very unpleasing, though greatly behoving to their estate.

Whilst he was occupied with these cares, Lævinus the Roman consul drew near, and began to waste Lucania, a province confederate with the Tarentines in this war.

The Lucanians were not ready to defend their own country; the Samnites were careless of the harm that fell not (as yet) upon themselves; the Tarentines were better pre-

than they would have been, but their valour was
e; all of these had been accustomed to shrink for fear
he Roman fortitude; and therefore it fell out happily
it Pyrrhus relied more upon his own forces, than the issue
their vaunting promises. He was now driven, either to
forward with those that himself had brought into Italy,
the assistance of the Tarentines, wherein little was to be
osed; or else to weaken the reputation of his own suffi-
ency, which by all means he was careful to uphold. In
od time a great part of his forces, that had been scattered
by foul weather at sea, were safely come to him; with which
he resolved to assay the valour of the Romans, against
whom he proudly marched.

Lævinus the consul was not affrighted with the terrible name of a great king, but came on confidently to meet him and give him battle, ere all his adherents should be ready to join with him. This boldness of the Roman, and the slackness of the Messapians, Lucanians, Samnites, and others, whom the danger most concerned, caused Pyrrhus to offer a treaty of peace; requiring to have the quarrel, between the Romans and his Italian friends, referred to his arbitrament. Whether he did this to win time, that the Samnites and their fellows might arrive at his camp; or whether, considering better at near distance the weight of the business which he had taken in hand, he were desirous to quit it with his honour, the short answer that was returned to his proposition gave him no means of either the one or the other; for the Romans sent him this word, that "they had neither chosen him their judge, nor feared him "their enemy."

Hereupon both armies hastened their march unto the river of Siris, Lævinus intending to fight before the arrival of the Samnites; Pyrrhus, to hinder him from passing that river, until his own army were full. Upon the first view of the Roman camp, it was readily conceived by Pyrrhus, that he had not now to do with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a brave discipline of war; which caused him to set a strong *corps de garde* upon the passage of the

river, that he might not be compelled to fight, until he saw his best advantage. But he quickly found that this new enemy was not only skilful in the art of war, but courageous in execution. For the Roman army entered the ford in face of his *corps de garde*, and their horse at the same time began to pass the river in sundry places; which caused the Greeks to forsake the defence of their bank, and speedily retire unto their camp.

This audacity forced Pyrrhus to battle; wherewith he thought it best to present them, ere their whole army had recovered firm footing, and were in order. So directing his captains how to marshal his battles, himself with the horse charged upon the Romans; who stoutly received him, as men well exercised in sustaining furious impressions. In this fight neither did his courage transport him beyond the duty of a careful general, nor his providence in directing others hinder the manifestation of his personal valour: it behoved him indeed to do his best; for he never met with better opposers. Once, and shortly after the fight began, his horse was slain under him; afterwards he changed armour with a friend, but that friend paid his life for the use of his king's armour, which was torn from his back. This accident had almost lost him the battle; but he, perceiving it, discovered his face, and thereby restored courage to his men, and took from the Romans their vain joy. The fight was obstinate, and with the greater loss (at least of more eminent men) on Pyrrhus's side, as long as only spear and sword were used. But when the elephants were brought into the wings, whose unusual form and terrible aspect the horses of the Romans (unaccustomed to the like) were not able to sustain, then was the victory quickly gotten. For the Roman battles perceiving their horse put to rout, and driven out of the field, finding also themselves both charged in flank, and overborne by the force and huge bulk of these strange beasts, gave way to necessity, and saved themselves as well as they could by hasty flight: in which consternation they were so forgetful of their discipline, that they tarried not to defend their camp, but ran quite beyond

eaving both it and the honour of the day entirely to rhus.

fame of this victory was soon spread over Italy; and reputation was no less than the fame. For it was a atter very rare to be heard, that a Roman consul, with elect army, should lose in plain battle not only the field, the camp itself, being so notably fortified as they always ere. And this honour was the more bravely won by Pyrus, for that he had with him none of his Italian friends, ve the unwarlike Tarentines. Neither could he well dissemble his content that he took, in having the glory of this action peculiarly his own, at such time as he blamed the Lucans and Samnites, for coming (as we say) a day after the fair. Nevertheless he wisely considered the strength of the Romans, which was such as would better endure many such losses, than he could many such victories. Therefore he thought it good to compound with them, whilst with his honour he might; and to that purpose he sent unto them Cyneas, his ambassador, demanding only to have the Tarentines permitted to live at rest, and himself accepted as their especial friend. This did Cyneas, with all his cunning and with liberal gifts, labour to effect: but neither man nor woman could be found in Rome that would take any bribe of him; neither did their desire of recovering their captives, or their danger by the rising of many states in Italy against them, so incline them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of Appius Claudius, an old and blind senator, did stir them up to make good their honour by war. So they returned answer, that whilst Pyrrhus abode in Italy they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report that Cyneas made at his return of the Roman puissance and virtue, as kindled in Pyrrhus a great desire of confederacy with that gallant city. Hereupon many kind offices passed between them; but still when he urged his motion of peace, the answer was, "He "must first depart out of Italy, and then treat of peace."

In the mean season, each part made provision for war; the Romans levying a more mighty army than the former,

and Pyrrhus being strengthened with access unto his forces, of all the east parts of Italy. So they came to trial of a second battle, wherein (though after long and cruel fight) the boisterous violence of the elephants gave to Pyrrhus a second victory. But this was not altogether so joyful as the former had been; rather it gave him cause to say, that such another victory would be his utter undoing. For he had lost the flower of his army in this battle, and though he drove the Romans into their camp, yet he could not force them out of it, nor saw any likelihood of prevailing against them, that were like to be relieved with daily supplies, whilst he should be driven to spend upon his old stock. Neither could he expect that his elephants should always stand him in stead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight would soon teach the Romans, that were apt scholars in such learning, how to make them unserviceable. Wherefore he desired nothing more, than how to carry his honour safe out of Italy; which to do (seeing the Romans would not help him, by offering or accepting any fair conditions of peace, or of truce) he took a slight occasion, presented by fortune, that followeth to be related.

SECT. III.

The great troubles in Macedon and Sicily. How Pyrrhus, being invited into Sicily, forsook Italy, won the most of the isle, and lost it in short space. Pyrrhus returns into Italy, where he is beaten by the Romans, and so goes back to his own kingdom.

WHEN Ptolomy Ceraunus had traitorously murdered his benefactor and patron Seleucus, he presently seized upon all the dominions of Lysimachus in Europe, as if they had been the due reward unto him that had slain the conqueror. The houses of Cassander and Lysimachus were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in Macedon any man of strength and reputation enough to advance himself against Ceraunus. The friends of Lysimachus were rather pleased to have him their king, that had (as he professed) revenged their lord's death, than any way offended with the odiousness of his fact, by which they were freed from subjection

to one, against whom they had stood in opposition. Many there were that, upon remembrance of his father's great virtue, gathered hope of finding the like in Ceraunus; persuading themselves that his reign might prove good, though his entrance had been wicked. These affections of the Macedonians did serve to defeat Antigonus the son of Demetrius, that made an attempt upon the kingdom. As for Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, he was far off, and might be questioned about some part of Asia, ere he should be able to bring an army near unto Europe. Yet he made great show of meaning to revenge his father's death; but being stronger in money than in arms, he was content after a while to take fair words, and make peace with the murderer. While these three strove about the kingdom, Pyrrhus, who thought his claim as good as any of theirs, made use of their dissension; threatening war, or promising his assistance, to every one of them. By these means he strengthened himself, and greatly advantaged his Italian voyage, which he had then in hand; requesting money of Antiochus, ships of Antigonus, and soldiers of Ptolomy, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a strong power of Macedonian soldiers, and of elephants, (covenanting to have them restored at two years end,) more for fear than for love; that so he might free himself from trouble, and quietly enjoy his kingdom.

Thus Ptolomy grew mighty on the sudden; and the power that by wicked means he had gotten, by means as wicked he increased.

All Macedon and Thrace being his, the strong city of Cassandria was held by Arsinoe his sister, the widow of Lysimachus, who lay therein with her young children. Her he circumvented by making love to her, and (according to the fashion of those times, wherein princes regarded no degree of consanguinity) taking her to wife, with promise to adopt her children, a promise that he meant not to perform; for it was not long ere he slew them, and drove her into exile.

In the pride of this good success, which his villainy

found, vengeance came upon him from afar by the fury of a nation that he had never heard of. Belgius, a captain of the Gauls, having forced his passage through many countries, unto the confines of Macedon, sent a proud message to Ceraunus, commanding him to buy peace with money, or otherwise to look for all the miseries of war. These Gauls were the race of those that issued out of their country, to seek new seats, in that great expedition wherein Brennus took and burnt the city of Rome. They had divided themselves, at their setting forth, into two companies; of which the one fell upon Italy, the other, passing through the countries that lie on the northern side of the Adriatic sea, made long abode in Pannonia, and the regions adjoining, where they forced all the neighbour princes to redeem peace with tribute, as now they would have compelled Ceraunus to do, unto whose borders they came about an hundred and eight years after such time as their fellows had taken Rome.

When their ambassadors came to Ptolomy, asking what he would give, his answer was, that he would be contented to give them peace, but it must be with condition, that they should put into his hands their princes as hostages, and yield up their arms; for otherwise, he would neither pardon their boldness, nor give any credit to their words. At this answer, when it was returned, the Gauls did laugh; saying, that they would soon confute with deeds the vanity of such proud words. It may seem strange, that he, who had given away part of his army unto Pyrrhus for very fear, should be so confident in undertaking more mighty enemies. The king of the Dardanians offered to lend him twenty thousand men against the Gauls; but he scorned the offer, saying, that he had the children of those which under the conduct of Alexander had subdued all the east. Thus he issued forth against the barbarous people, with his famous Macedonians, as if the victory must needs have followed the reputation of a great name. But he soon found his great error, when it was too late. For the enemies were not only equal in strength of body, and fierceness of courage; but so far superior to the Macedonians in numbers,

that few or none escaped their fury. Ptolomy himself, grievously wounded, fell into their hands, whilst the battle continued; and they presently struck off his head, which they shewed to his men on the top of a lance, to their utter astonishment.

The report of this great overthrow filled all Macedon with such desperation, that the people fled into walled towns, and abandoned the whole country as lost. Only Sosthenes, a valiant captain, animating as many as he could, gathered a small army, with which he many times got the upper hand, and hindered Belgius from using the victory at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his virtue, the soldiers would have made him king; which title he refused, and was content with the name of a general. But (as mischiefs do seldom come alone) the good success of Belgius drew into Macedon Brennus, another captain of the Gauls, with an hundred and fifty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse; against which mighty army when Sosthenes with his weak troops made opposition, he was easily beaten, and the Macedonians again compelled to hide themselves within their walls, leaving all their country to the spoil of the Barbarians.

Thus were the Macedonians destitute of a king, and trodden down by a nation that they had not heard of, in less than fifty years after the death of Alexander, who sought to discover and subdue unknown countries, as if all Greece and the empire of Persia had been too little for a king of Macedon.

Very seasonably had these news been carried to Pyrrhus in Italy, who sought a fair pretext of relinquishing his war with the Romans, had not other tidings out of Sicily distracted him, and carried him away in pursuit of nearer hopes: for after the death of Agathocles, who reigned over the whole island, the Carthaginians sent an army to conquer Sicily, out of which, by him, they had been expelled. This army did so fast prevail, that the Sicilians had no other hope to avoid slavery, than in submitting themselves to the rule of Pyrrhus; whom, being a Grecian, and a noble

prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, than to live under the well known heavy yoke of Carthage. To him therefore the Syracusans, Leontines, and Agragentines, principal estates of the isle, sent ambassadors, earnestly desiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieved Pyrrhus exceedingly, that two such notable occasions of enlarging his dominions should fall out so unluckily both at one time. Yet whether he thought the business of Sicily more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps he believed (as came after to pass) that his advantage upon Macedon would not so hastily pass away, but that he might find some occasion to lay hold on it at better leisure, over into Sicily he transported his army, leaving the Tarentines to shift for themselves; yet not leaving them free as he found them, but with a garrison in their town, to hold them in subjection.

As his departure out of Italy was rather grounded on headlong passion than mature advice, so were his actions following, until his return unto Epirus, rather many and tumultuous, than well ordered, or note-worthy. The army which he carried into that isle consisted of thirty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse; with which, soon after his descent into Sicily, he forced the Carthaginians out of all in effect that they held therein. He also won the strong city of Eryx, and having beaten the Mamertines in battle, he began to change condition, and turn tyrant: for he drave Sostratus (to whom his cruelty was suspect) out of the island, and put Thenon of Syracuse to death, being jealous of his greatness; which two persons had faithfully served him, and delivered the great and rich city of Syracuse into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined so fast, as he served himself, and salved the disreputation of his leaving Sicily, by an embassage sent him from the Tarentines and Samnites, imploring his present help against the Romans, who, since his leaving Italy, had well near dispossessed them of all that they had.

Taking this fair occasion, he embarked for Italy; but was first beaten by the Carthaginian galleys in his passage,

and secondly assailed in Italy itself by eighteen hundred Mamertines, that attended him in the straits of the country. Lastly, after he had recovered Tarentum, he fought a third battle with the Romans, led by M. Curius, who was victorious over him, and forced him out of Italy into his own Epirus.

A prince he was far more valiant than constant, and had he been but a general of an army, for some other great king or state, and had been directed to have conquered any one country or kingdom, it is to be thought that he would have purchased no less honour than any man of war either preceding or succeeding him; for a greater captain, or a valianter man, hath been nowhere found. But he never stayed upon any enterprise; which was indeed the disease he had, whereof not long after he died in Argos.

SECT. IV.

How Antigonus the son of Demetrius delivered Macedon from the Gauls. How Pyrrhus won the kingdom of Macedon from Antigonus.

THE virtue of Sosthenes being too weak to defend the kingdom of Macedon, and the fortune which had accompanied him against Belgius failing him in his attempts against Brennus, the Macedonians were no less glad to submit themselves unto the government of Antigonus, than they had formerly been desirous to free themselves from the impotent rule of his father Demetrius. His coming into the country with an army, navy, and treasure beseeming a king, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence; for he was driven to use against the Barbarians only those forces which he brought with him, having none other than good wishes of the Macedons to take his part. Brennus, with the main strength of his army, was gone to spoil the temple of Apollo at Delphos, having left no more behind him than he thought necessary to guard the borders of Macedon and Pannonia; which were about fifteen thousand foot and three thousand horse. These could not be idle, but thought to get some-

what for themselves in the absence of their fellows; and therefore sent unto Antigonus, offering to sell him peace, if he would pay well for it; which by the example of Ceraunus he had learnt (as they thought) not to refuse. Antigonus was unwilling to weaken his reputation by condescending to their proud demands; yet he judged it unfit to exasperate their furious choler by uncourteous words or usage, as Ceraunus had over-fondly done. Wherefore he entertained their ambassadors in very loving and sumptuous manner, with a royal feast; wherein he exposed to their view such abundance of massy gold and silver, that they were not so much delighted with the meat as with sight of the vessels wherein it was served. He thought hereby to make them understand how great a prince he was, and how able, if need required, to wage a mighty army.

To which end, he likewise did shew unto them his camp and navy, but especially his elephants. But all this bravery served only to kindle their greedy appetites; who seeing his ships heavy loaden, his camp full of wealth, and ill fortified, himself (as it seemed) secure, and his men, both in strength and courage inferior unto the Gauls, thought all time lost, wherein they suffered the present possessors to spend the riches which they accounted assuredly their own. They returned therefore to their companions, with none other news in their mouths than of spoil and purchase; which tale carried the Gauls headlong to Antigonus's camp, where they expected a greater booty than the victory over Ceraunus had given to Belgius. Their coming was terrible and sudden; yet not so sudden but that Antigonus had notice of it, who, distrusting the courage of his own men, dislodged somewhat before their arrival, and conveyed himself, with his whole army and carriage, into certain woods adjoining, where he lay close.

The Gauls, finding his camp forsaken, were not hasty to pursue him, but fell to ransacking the empty cabins of the soldiers, in hope of finding all that was either lost or hidden. At length, when they had searched every place in vain, angry at their lost labour, they marched with all speed toward

the sea-side, that they might fall upon him whilst he was busy in getting his men and carriages a shipboard. But the success was no way answerable to their expectation: for, being proud of the terror which they had brought upon Antigonus, they were so careless of the seamen, that, without all order, they fell to the spoil of what they found on the shore, and in such ships as lay on ground.

Part of the army had left Antigonus, where he lay in covert, and had saved itself by getting aboard the fleet; in which number were some well experienced men of war, who discovering the much advantage offered unto them by the desperate presumption of their enemies, took courage, and encouraged others to lay manly hold upon the opportunity. So the whole number, both of soldiers and mariners, landing together, with great resolution, gave so brave a charge upon the disordered Gauls, that their contemptuous boldness was thereby changed into sudden fear, and they, after a great slaughter, driven to cast themselves into the service of Antigonus.

The fame of this victory caused all the barbarous nations in those quarters to reentertain their ancient belief of the Macedonian valour, by which the terrible and resistless oppressors of so many countries were overthrown.

To speak more of the Gauls in this place, and to shew how, about these times, three tribes of them passed over into Asia the Less, with their wars and conquests there, I hold it needless; the victorious arms of the Romans, taming them hereafter in the countries which now they won, shall give better occasion to rehearse these matters briefly.

Howsoever the good success of Antigonus got him reputation among the barbarous people, yet his own soldiers, that without his leading had won this victory, could not thereupon be persuaded to think him a good man of war; knowing that he had no interest in the honour of the service, wherein his conduct was no better than creeping into a wood.

This (as presently will appear) was greatly helpful unto Pyrrhus; though, as yet, he knew not so much: for Pyr-

rhus, when his affairs in Italy stood upon hard terms, had sent unto Antigonus for help; not without threats, in case it were denied. So was he sure to get either a supply, wherewith to continue his war against the Romans, or some seeming honourable pretence to forsake Italy, under colour of making his word good in seeking revenge. The threats which he had used in bravery, mere necessity forced him, at his return into Epirus, to put in practice.

He brought home with him eight thousand foot and five hundred horse; an army too little to be employed, by his restless nature, in any action of importance; yet greater than he had means to keep in pay. Therefore he fell upon Macedon; intending to take what spoil he could get, and make Antigonus compound with him to be freed from trouble. At his first entrance into this business, two thousand of Antigonus's soldiers revolted unto Pyrrhus; and many cities, either willingly or perforce, received him. Such fair beginnings easily persuaded the courage of this daring prince to set upon Antigonus himself, and to hazard his fortune, in trial of a battle, for the whole kingdom of Macedon.

It appears that Antigonus had no desire to fight with this hot warrior; but thought it the wisest way, by protracting of time, to weary him out of the country. For Pyrrhus overtook him in a strait passage, and charged him in the rear; wherein were the Gauls and the elephants, which were thought the best of his strength; a manifest proof that he was in retreat. The Gauls very bravely sustained Pyrrhus's impression, yet were broken at length, (when most of them were slain) after a sharp fight; wherein it seems that Antigonus, keeping his Macedonian phalanx within the strait, and not advancing to their succour, took away their courage by deceiving their expectation. The captains of the elephants were taken soon after; who, finding themselves exposed to the same violence that had consumed so many of the Gauls, yielded themselves and the beasts. All this was done in full view of Antigonus and his Macedonians, to their great discomfort; which embold-

ened Pyrrhus to charge them where they lay in their strength. Where the phalanx could be charged only in a front, it was a matter of extreme difficulty (if not impossible) to force it. But the Macedonians had seen so much, that they had no desire to fight against Pyrrhus; who discovered so well their affections, that he adventured to draw near in person, and exhort them to yield. Neither the common soldier, nor any leader, refused to become his follower. All forsook Antigonus, a few horsemen excepted, that fled along with him to Thessalonica; where he had some small forces left, and money enough to entertain a greater power, had he known where to levy it. But whilst he was thinking how to allure a sufficient number of the Gauls into his service, whereby he might repair his loss, Ptolomy the son of Pyrrhus came upon him, and easily defeating his weak forces, drave him to fly from the parts about Macedon to those towns afar off in Peloponnesus, in which he had formerly lurked, before such time as he looked abroad into the world, and made himself a king.

This good success revived the spirits of the Epirot, and caused him to forget all sorrow of his late misfortunes in the Roman war: so that he sent for his son Helenus, (whom he had left with a garrison in the castle of Tarentum,) willing him to come over into Greece, where was more matter of conquest, and let the Italians shift for themselves.

SECT. V.

How Pyrrhus assailed Sparta without success. His enterprise upon Argos, and his death.

PYRRHUS had now conceived a great hope that nothing should be able to withstand him; seeing that, in open fight, he had vanquished the Gauls, beaten Antigonus, and won the kingdom of Macedon. There was not in all Greece, nor indeed in all the lands that Alexander had won, any leader of such name and worth, as deserved to be set up against him; which filled him with the opinion that he might do what he pleased. He raised therefore an army, consisting of five and twenty thousand foot, two thousand

horse, and four and twenty elephants; pretending war against Antigonus, and the giving liberty to those towns in Peloponnesus which the same Antigonus held in subjection; though it was easily discovered, that such great preparations were made for accomplishment of some design more important than war against a prince already vanquished, and almost utterly dejected. Especially the Lacedæmonians feared this expedition, as made against their state. For Cleonymus, one of their kings, being expelled out of his country, had betaken himself to Pyrrhus; who readily entertained him, and promised to restore him to his kingdom. This promise was made in secret; neither would Pyrrhus make show of any displeasure that he bare unto Sparta; but contrariwise professed, that it was his intent to have two of his own younger sons trained up in that city, as in a place of noble discipline. With such colours he deluded men, even till he entered upon Laconia; where presently he demeaned himself as an open enemy; excusing himself, and his former dissembling words, with a jest, "That he followed herein the Lacedæmonian custom, of "concealing what was truly purposed." It had been indeed the manner of the Lacedæmonians, to deal in like sort with others, whom, in the time of their greatness, they sought to oppress: but now they complained of that, as falsehood in Pyrrhus, which they always practised as wisdom, till it made them distrusted, forsaken, and almost contemptible. Nevertheless, they were not wanting to themselves in this dangerous extremity: for the old men and women laboured in fortifying the towns; causing such as could bear arms to reserve themselves fresh against the assault, which Pyrrhus had unwisely deferred upon assurance of prevailing.

Sparta was never fortified, before this time, otherwise than with armed citizens: soon after this, (it being built upon uneven ground, and for the most part hard to approach,) the lower and more accessible places were fenced with walls; at the present, only trenches were cast, and barricadoes made

with carts, where the entrance seemed most easy. Three days together it was assailed by Pyrrhus, exceeding fiercely, and no less stoutly defended. The desperate courage of the citizens preserved the town the first day; whereinto the violence of Pyrrhus had forced entrance the second day, but that his wounded horse threw him to the ground, which made his soldiers more mindful of saving the person of their king, than of breaking into the city, though already they had torn in sunder the barricadoes. Presently after this, one of Antigonus's captains got into Sparta, with a good strength of men; and Areus the king returned out of Crete (where he had been helping his friends in war) with two thousand men, little knowing the danger in which his own country stood, until he was almost at home. These succours did not more animate the Spartans, than kindle in Pyrrhus a desire to prevail against all impediments. But the third day's work showed how great his error had been, in forbearing to assault the town at his first coming. For he was so manfully repelled, that he saw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwise than by a long siege: in which tedious course he had no desire to spend his time.

Antigonus had now raised an army, though not strong enough to meet the enemy in plain field, yet able to hinder all his purposes. This made Pyrrhus doubtful what way to take; being diversely affected, by the difficulty of his enterprise in hand, and the shame of taking a repulse in his first attempt. Whilst he was thus perplexed, letters came from Argos inviting him thither, with promise to deliver that city into his hands.

Civil dissension raging then hotly in Argos, caused the heads of several factions to call in Pyrrhus and Antigonus; but the coming of these two princes taught the citizens wit, and made them desirous to rid their hands of such powerful assistants, as each of the two kings pretended himself to be. Antigonus told the Argives, that he came to save them from the tyranny of Pyrrhus; and that he would be gone, if they needed not his help. On the other side, Pyrrhus would

needs persuade them, that he had none other errand than to make them safe from Antigonus, offering in like manner to depart, if they so desired.

The Argives took small pleasure in hearing the fox and kite at strife, which of them should keep the chickens from his enemy; and therefore prayed them both to divert their powers some other way. Hereunto Antigonus readily condescended, and gave hostages to assure his word; for he was the weaker, and stood in need of good-will. But Pyrrhus thought it enough to promise: hostages he would give none to his inferiors; especially, meaning deceit. This made them suspect his purpose to be such as indeed it was. Yet he less regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthy of assurance, by giving such a bond as he intended to break ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a gate of the city should be opened by night unto Pyrrhus, by his complices within Argos; which was accordingly performed. So his army, without any tumult, entered the city; till the elephants, with towers on their backs, cloyed the way, being too high to pass the gate. The taking off and setting on again of those towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both give alarm to the city, and some leisure to take order for defence, before so many were entered as could fully master it. Argos was full of ditches, which greatly hindered the Gauls, (that had the vanguard,) being ignorant of the ways, in the dark night. The citizens, on the other side, had much advantage by their knowledge of every by-passage; and setting upon the enemies on all sides, did put them to great loss, and more trouble.

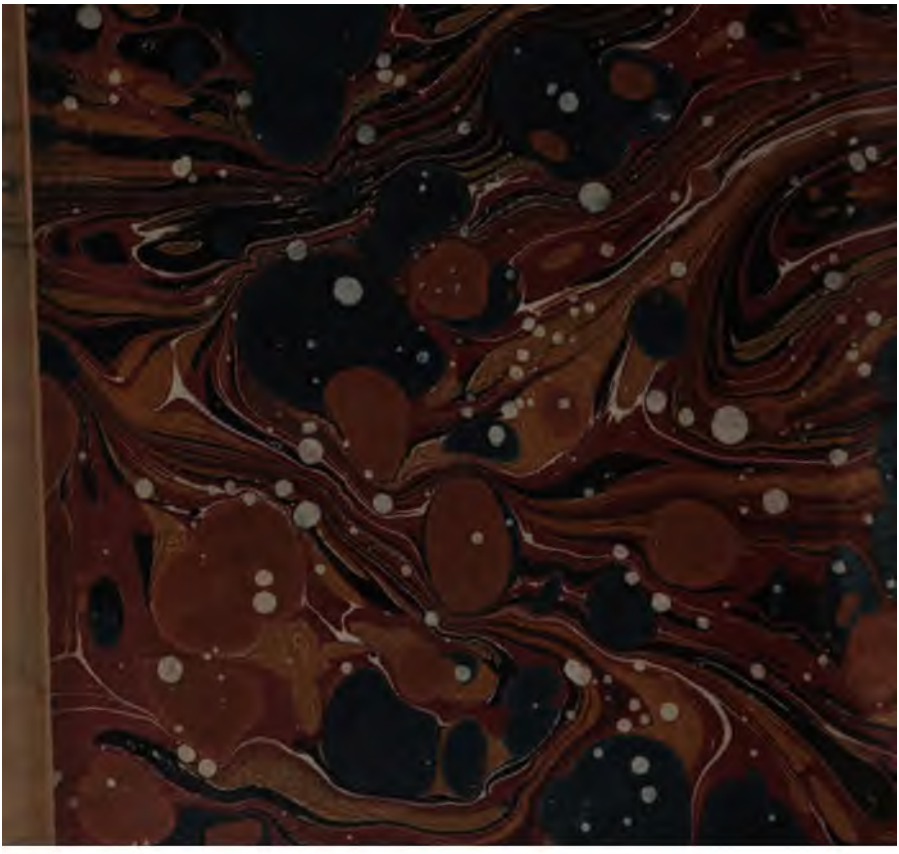
Pyrrhus, therefore, understanding by the confused noise and unequal shoutings of his own men, that they were in distress, entered the city in person, to take order for their relief, and assurance of the place. But the darkness, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, until break of day. Then began he to make his passage by force, and so far prevailed, that he got into the market-place. It is said, that seeing in that

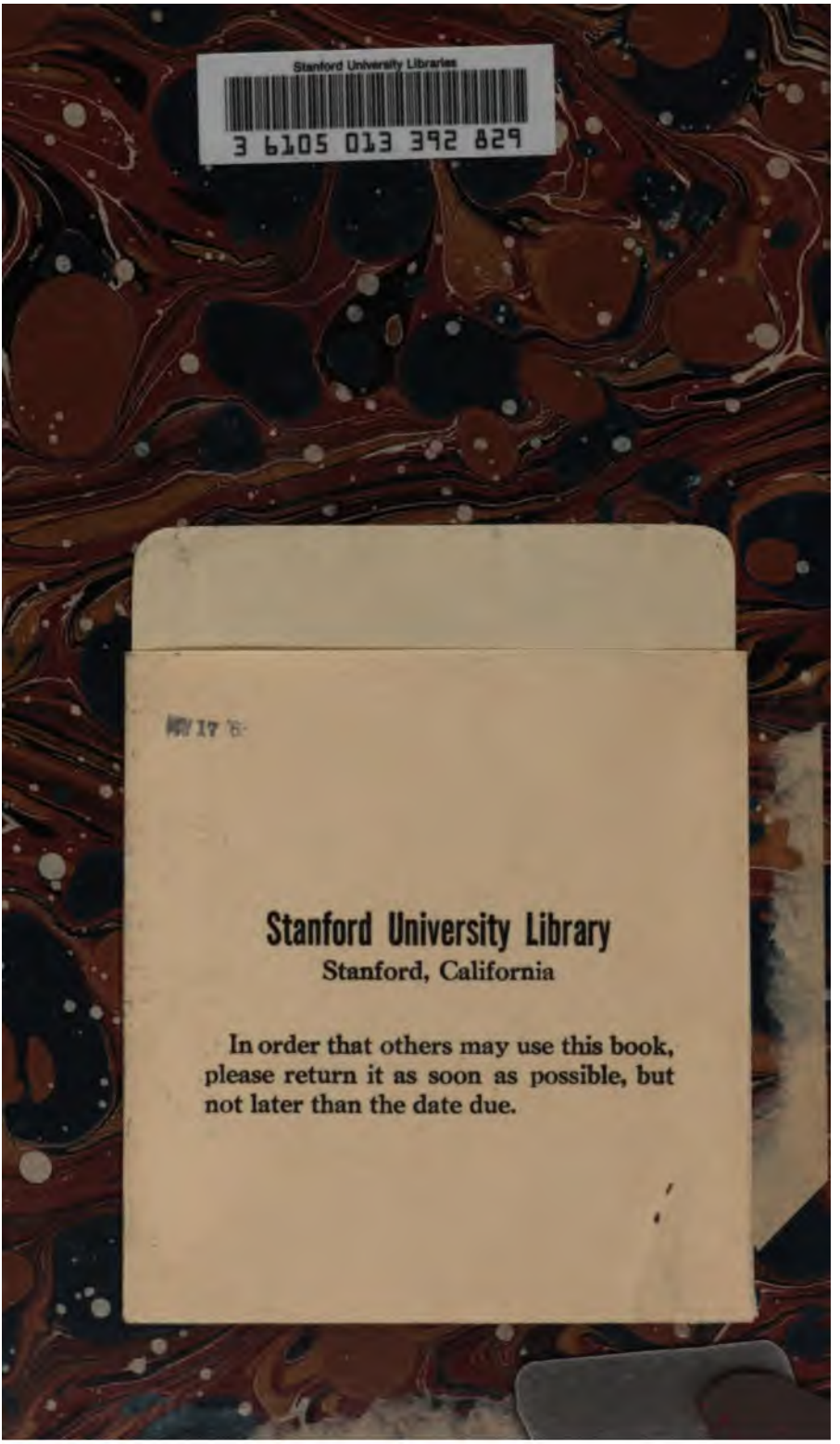
place the image of a wolf and a bull, in such posture as if they had been combatant, he called to mind an oracle which threatened him with death, when he should behold a bull fighting with a wolf; and that hereupon he made retreat.

Indeed the coming of Antigonus to the rescue, the disorder and confusion of his own men, with divers ill accidents, gave him reasonable cause to have retired out of the city, though the wolf and bull had been away. The tumult was such, that no directions could be heard; but as some gave back, so did others thrust forward, and the Argives pressing hard upon him, forced Pyrrhus to make good his retreat with his own sword. The tops of the houses were covered with women, that stood looking on the fight. Among these was one, that saw her own son in dangerous case fighting with Pyrrhus. Wherefore she took a tile stone, or slate, and threw it so violently down on the head of Pyrrhus, that he fell to ground astonished with the blow; and lying in that case, had his head cut off.

Thus ended the restless ambition of Pyrrhus, together with his life; and thus returned the kingdom of Macedon to Antigonus, who forthwith possessed the army, the body, and the children of his enemy. The body of Pyrrhus had honourable funeral, and was given by Antigonus unto Helenus his son; which young prince he graciously sent home into his father's kingdom of Epirus. From this time forwards the race of Antigonus held the kingdom of Macedon; the posterity of Seleucus reigned over Asia and Syria; and the house of Ptolomy had quiet possession of Egypt; until such time as the city of Rome, swallowing all up, digested these, among other countries, into the body of her own empire.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

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